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THE POST-WAR ENGLISH NOVEL.¹

I.

POST-WAR I

"THE very word is as a knell."

BUT why is it so much deadlier a note in England than in Germany or France or any of the other lands that were locked in the long blind massacre from which we dragged out so desolate a victory? The spoils to the conqueror, they say, but there are spoils for the defeated. To them belong the saddest songs and the most heart-shaking stories. Well! Whoever was victor, France and Germany have been alike in this, that war has left them with kindling intellect and resurgent spiritual energy. Perhaps because their material problems were more desperate than ours, they have turned the earlier to the arts of life. The post-war French novel, with a fierce and insolent gesture, is asserting the force of individuality and the conquering tradition of its Latinity, seeking it even in indomitable Rome and in Roman Spain. The post-war German novel is also remembering how all its proudest and fairest Kaisers rode over the Alps to seek a mythic crown and magical plunder in Italy. And Italy is adventuring with a new despot. The wise European nations go down for healing to the tideless sea that has civilised the Earth. But post-war England sits dully counting up her money, and heavily regretting that for once in her history she entered a war for anything but her own advantage. The Bank of England may stand where it did; English literature, including the English novel, has sadly depreciated its currency.

II.

I SHALL not begin, as I should perhaps, by trying to define the novel, or dwelling on its history. Several eminent practitioners in fiction have examined their particular form of art, but without doing much more than owning, with many graceful digressions, that the novel

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should tell a story, and that the characters should so interact with circumstance as to influence the causation of these incidents, not, as in the romance, merely submit to the surprises of chance. Which is all very simple. What we *did* expect—of the pre-war novel, at least—was that it should afford the æsthetic pleasure of a unity wrought out of the chaotic stuff of existence, should impart, in a more contemplative, less immediate way, the sense of accomplished fate implicit in a drama, especially in a tragedy. The lives of men and women like ourselves, less otiose, trivial, irrelevant than our own, are subdued to a rhythmic movement, wrought into a whorl of intricate acanthus pattern. The movement may be agonising; the acanthus may be traced in dear heart's blood. Or the music may be derisive and the lines grotesque. It is by rhythm and pattern that the substance of life is brought into unison with beauty. Discords may be resolved; rent roses be rewoven. But fundamental dissonance and disorder destroy a novel as they destroy a life.

For the novel is not a clear primate form of art like the lyric, the epic or the drama which it has supplanted. Even Mr. E. M. Forster admits, as with a little languid disdain, that the novel is "sogged with humanity." Its chronicles are muddled with philosophies of existence, riddles of conduct, metaphysics of love, codes, etiquettes, and spiritual attitudes. However impersonal, objective, realistic, the author may try to be, his judgments, sympathies, antipathies will slip in ever so softly, like shadows; and all his puppets owe their graces or disgraces to the tolerance of his peculiar ethic, unconscious or otherwise. The novel is a piece of imagery cut out of his most intimate notion of God and man. Whether he describe himself as expressionist or impressionist, he has not the creative power of the dramatist who, at his highest, seems by a mere sign to bring his sudden people out of the darkness, clothed with their proper mortality, authentic flame of speech between their lips, their nervous hands as expressive as swords or lilies. He must wheedle them with magic formulæ of evocative phrases, and supply the less poignant murmur of their more broken conversations with soft subterfuge of descriptive words reminiscent of glance and gesture, so taking sides, albeit reluctantly, giving himself away all the time, and giving all the time away with himself.

MANY highly intelligent people, keen lovers of the art of literature, still regard the novel with a certain air of patronage. And yet sheer story thrives on man's noble resentment of the limitations of time and place, and his desire for adventurous report of what is happening beyond the horizon and behind the dawn, where alien stars enchant inviolate cities. That is romance. But when his insatiable curiosity settles back on his own country, his own house, the dark forest of his own kinsman's heart, the novel is his food. All those who exist by blood more than by lymph desire more lives than one, though highly reluctant, most of them, to pay the price of more than a single death.

III.

It was to the high music of poetry that the first great stories went their epic way, for on earth paused gods and demigods and heroes, when Helen walked on the walls of Troy, and Odysseus sat undismayed drinking wine with golden Circe, even when Dido died the flaming death of a sacred Carthaginian queen, and even when Roland blew from Roncesvalles the horn whose echoes have not faded from the history of Christendom. But the tender Longus, who saw two pretty children like white wood-hyacinths by a pool, and sardonic Lucian, and Petronius the realist, and Lucius Apuleius, the astonishing author of the *Golden Ass*, had found some less dignified stories go rarely in prose. And before Dante wrote the epic of the mediæval soul prevailing among demons and angels, all the knights of Arthur and Charlemagne and Amadis and Alexander had gone wandering through the green forests of the romance, sometimes in verse, sometimes in a sweet and stately prose like Malory's. Modern effects enough come startlingly sometimes. Guenevere and Lancelot are taken in such a toil of love and hate as we witlessly call modern. When Aucassin, that slim and gilded knight, meets the uncouth forester whom he greets as "fair brother," you might say here is a moment of sociological study, in that exquisite piece of love-craft. The whole being of the Renaissance period surged in the key of poetry; but as conversation was a fine art, the contes and nouvelles of Decameronian kind increased steadily. Elizabethans, darkly intoxicated with that forbidden Italy, plundered its dangerous sweet matter for their audacious tragedy; but not till the national pride and passion slowly declined from its high altitude of inspiration, not until the superficial cynicism and correctitude of the Age of Reason chilled the spiritual atmosphere, did the novel emerge with the first newspapers to amuse a disenchanted, disillusioned, and satirical world. For, since the novel became definitely divorced from the romance, its implication is that it will deal with people the reader might meet any day, in a world with which he is definitely familiar. It will become an amusing mirror for the narcissism of society; and will not present creatures too bright to annoy the inferiority complex. When the novel supersedes the drama, the national genius is distinctly deflagrated. For tragedy and comedy cannot quite lose the ritual symbolism of their divine origin. The gestures are never insignificant; the actors are more passionate, more dangerous, more beautiful—at the lowest, prettier and merrier than we. Drama, like architecture, cannot exist without some conspiracy between the artists and the public; they are exacting arts. The novel seems easily produced; the public has merely to subscribe to a library. But even the novel may be doomed. Soon the public may be too lazy to read at all.

IV.

SINCE the rational, deistic, "correct" eighteenth century, so corroded all the same by its repressions of madness and mania, evolved the English novel, the form has been altered, enriched, and supplied. It has "returned to Nature" with the Romantic Movement, and widened the notion of Nature with the rebels of the 'Nineties. It has had liaisons with France, Germany, Russia, and even Scandinavia. It has become the synthesis of all we do, suffer, desire, enjoy. It brings us cowslip wine and wild violets from kind countrysides, and bog-myrtle from waste places, and spices and amber and silk from the East. It recovers the passion of the past with "all its beautiful burial things," it lances the corroding situations of the present, and—but this vainly—makes an occasional effort to imagine a tolerable future. Since the novel's business is to play with riddles of time, to make characters at once true to period and to the timeless, it will often convey more philosophic wisdom than an abstract treatise. Its fluent technique is equal to variable effects of style. It can offer purely dramatic dialogue of unquestionable mordancy; its undertones and overtones can build a trembling violet atmosphere as well as music may. Sometimes it can even chant softly, better than most of our disheartened poets can, since they abandoned the lyre for the saxophone.

BUT this variety of accomplishment does not placate these who instinctively dislike fiction. The modern novel for them is too like the sheaf of Joseph's dream, to which all the other sheaves bowed down. Its synthetic effect they consider only a confusion of kinds. It is, indeed, like a piano among musical instruments, convenient, but not an orchestra in itself, with its discontinuous notes. Yet can a masterly player evoke great sonatas from the despised instrument, bringing bells from undersea and plucked harps of heaven from the responsive keys.

V.

So in this age of disillusion, disenchantment, dismay, we sometimes take up the novel to see if some promise of imaginative renaissance may not flash across the picture here and there like a silver swift. Disenchantment, disillusion, dismay, above all disintegration—the bitter substance of twentieth century humanity is altered there into a twilight smoke of masks, sullen, ironical, insouciant, melancholy, furious—all untender. Still, the pageant is of a more fluctuating kind than that presented by, say, the French novel. The Latin literary tradition is definite and persistent; ours is capricious and yielding. French writers always exhibit racial qualities carried to a superlative degree. English writers frequently exhibit qualities that seem to the last degree un-English. They differ from each other

intensely. So it is always next to impossible to generalise about English authors, whose spiritual traditions are as mingled as their blood. The rapacious individualism of some of the young Frenchmen is after all inherited from Barrés ; and there is something in common amongst André Gide, Montherlant, Carco and the rest. Besides, their heroes are only descendents of Julien Sorel and Eugène de Rastignac, even if these ruthless dandies did cultivate their ego more "according to plan." But D. H. Lawrence and Aldous Huxley, though each is distinctively representative of post-war conditions, seem poles apart in their attitude to life. Also, matters are complicated in this country by the fact that, though here, as in France, there is some tendency to represent woman as the enemy, the women in England are writing as steadily as the men.

VI.

THE War, of course, continues to be the vast and sombre excuse for all things formless, brutal, and sterile. As an indictment of that terrific and wasting experience, the validity of our literary expression is not a little dubious. The most splendid, the most courageous, the most idealistic of our young men passed swiftly into that unimaginable *mellay*, and, in useless battles and agonising retreats, they died. It has become a boring cliché to say that the old men made the war. They were young men who, on that fatal August night, looked down at the lighted spire of Westminster in terror lest France be abandoned and the honour of Britain destroyed for ever, and who simply and sincerely went to perish, as they thought, on the side of civilisation. However much politicians and diplomatists and generals were corrupt and inadequate, those young men were nobly in the right, since, even if their banner was an illusion of roses and of fleur-de-lys, it was a divine illusion. In our long grumbling refusal to come to terms again with the Spirit of Life there is a certain treason towards those radiant dead. It may indeed be that for them also "the iniquity of oblivion blindly scattereth his poppy."

VII.

It was perhaps a pity that conscription took so many young literary men. Some exceptional people like Sir Philip Sidney have behaved superbly on battlefields ; but I fear that the literary temperament rarely endures through long miracles of fortitude. A certain delicacy of nerve will either set like steel or rend like silk ; and in this last war all the survivors were more or less brain-tortured before the end. The monstrous schemes of death plotted by mechanists and chemists outranged the limits of merely human suffering. We have a literature of the shell-shocked, sufferers with splinters of shame in the very heart, sickening images embedded in the quivering substance of

the mind. Therefore, the fact that beauty did send the susurrs of her wild auroras even through the bursting shells is almost forgotten. Yet there were desperate chivalries in the air, great dark heroisms under the sea, fine and fast comradeships in the poisoned trenches. C. E. Montague, whose recent death is a disaster to the English nation, and whom none could call a militarist, has intimated in two novels, *ROUGH JUSTICE*, and *RIGHT OFF THE MAP*, with all the piercing and subtle quality of his tempered style, that a certain kind of noble nature can best fulfil itself in the perils of war; and none could say that he shirked the trial of fact. While E. M. Thompson, after relating the long history of the blundering desultory Mesopotamian campaigns, with irony and pain considering the tottering, enduring figures in khaki that on useless marches went stumbling after the friezes of cruel Assyrian kings, in the mudflats beside the Tigris where the date-wind still blows the dust between the Trees of Life—yet finds that certain different souls have forged a fine chainwork of loyalty, a dear love of comrades, from out all the anger, dismay, and waste, that no kind of peace could have interlinked. *THESE MEN, THY FRIENDS* is a remarkable weft of almost feminine sensibility and anxious justness of impression. R. H. Mottram's trilogy of *THE SPANISH FARM* is greatly admired. It has documentary value, but lack of imagination blunts the reality. The tone is that of the "grousing" rather than the disillusioned soldier.

VIII.

STILL, though the War left a backwash of horror and hate, left strange consequences of insensitive greed and sadist appetite in those who had, and even more in those who had not, participated in the sedentary inchmeal warfare, flaring at unexpected moments into explosive hell, though it heightened the violent egoism of the young, intent on wringing their utmost of dancing pleasure from life shining so perilled and precious against that monstrous Triumph of Death, though its bleak revelations of limitless guilt and pain disoriented minds from their quivering faith in the power of love and beauty, that War is not completely responsible for the chilled and exhausted state in which the arts and philosophies brood with sick wings, in which those who think and feel move restlessly as in the agitations of a wasting fever. Rather was the War the expression of a maladif era seeking for relief. The mechanical age demonstrated that it has finally changed war into massacre; but it had been constricting the nerves of life long before, and is yet continuing its process of changing man into robot. There is a stridency over most popular literature; there is a particular lack of manners in the post-war drama and novel. We have made a world that is too noisy and too fast for our own nerves; we have murdered sleep, and throttled leisure; we have no energy for the difficult codes

of courtesy and the rich elaborate processes of the imagination ; we have wrought out an existence to which our hurrying hearts cannot adapt their beat ; we are in a slow fever of exhaustion. We have surrendered the Idea of God because it is exacting. Insidious pragmatisms have destroyed the absolutes of love and beauty which are necessary to the creation of great art, because the Absolute is an Angel of the Lord and we cannot wrestle with it. The disintegration of our intellectual and spiritual lives has a double aspect, hard and soft. Within the body of our metallic, plangent, insolent existence lies the dark, sick rose of melancholy which is our very soul, our very soul perverse and morbid, though not unlovely nor yet undesirous.

VIII.

THIS inmost melancholia has been fostered by much exotic sadness. According to the novelists themselves, their idols are the great Russians, Tchekov, Dostoevsky, Tolstoi, Turgenev. But, though the sad compassion, the concentrated calm development of Turgenev's puissant personages ; the contemplative fatalism, the reserved technique of Tchekov ; the mysterious genius of Dostoevsky with its mystic thirst for annihilation, its indifference to good and evil, its adoration of suffering as the conversion to the God behind good and evil ; the infinite steppes of space behind the vibrating creatures of Tolstoi, and his puissant manipulation of time—though all these have widened the English horizons and released the soothing tides of darkness over the English soul, our writers, for all their appreciative criticism, are not really much affected by the great Russians, whose methods are of one texture with the psychology of their race. They do not fit the impatient sophisticated people of the English novel. As to the French, we still go on talking of Stendhal and Balzac, and this admiration has left a mark here and there. Marcel Proust, however, has really entered into English contemporary literature. The manner and the theme of his great work have relieved in a rapture both the brooding melancholy and the intense narcissism of post-war psychology. He has sent many a novelist in search of lost time, with clues of flavour and fragrance and broken image recovering the excited sensations of childhood, describing the fascinating interplay of the grown-up through the wonder of infant eyes that invest their game with a felicity which, in itself, it hardly possesses. Once more events count for next to nothing ; the mind that receives them is its own excitement.

IX.

THE great Victorian novelists are under eclipse ; our post-war people think they have broken that tradition for good. Perhaps they themselves indeed will never regain enough vitality to create imaginary creatures who will take on the privileges of immortality. Meredith

is repudiated by the literary with peculiar ingratitude. True, some of his work has been made obsolete by his own chivalry; he was generous enough to fight for causes that, having been won, are now commonplace. His witty and enchanting women, however, can dazzle down any fair phantom in a post-war novel. Hardy, the impenitent and unchristian, was committed to a final irony when he was borne after the great gold Cross to a hallowed grave in Westminster Abbey. The regional novel he so mightily moulded still keeps its place, though neither Sussex, nor Dorset, nor the prose Shropshire, nor Westmoreland have been invested with the dreamy sweetness and sorrow of Wessex. Conrad, too, has gone since the war, Conrad, that surprising stranger whose deliberate adoption of our language enriched it with such haughty gifts of sumptuous romantic tissue. A romantic indeed is he, with his ethic of high-pitched honour, his *amour courtois*, his love of lost and desperate causes, his defiant banners of beauty, his valorous ships, his tragic victories and heart-breaking defeats, all his exciting world of tropic stars and softly fragrant darkness. Yet such is the instant passion and startling beauty of his speech, so direct the authority of his reserved and princelike protagonists, that none, speaking of Conrad, dares to mutter that quixotry is not a post-war virtue, either in life or literature.

ALL our very great men are dead; and, says Mr. Ford Madox Ford, life is much less stuffy. I feel, on the contrary, that there is much less radio-activity about. But some of our contemporary novelists, though still in the vigour of their power, made their reputations before the war, and have not since altered in quality or point of view. They are still very popular, though their exploration of the universe is over. They are commentators; they have not joined forces with the disintegrators, being neither for nor against them. So here is Mr. Galsworthy, who, during the war, and after it, completed the great FORSYTE SAGA of the Man of Property, and who is even now concluding the pendant history of his very modern daughter. Of the humour, tenderness, and tragedy of the FORSYTE SAGA it is not now relevant to speak. Soames Forsyte has become a person much more actual than Mr. Baldwin. Deeply as Mr. Galsworthy loves her, Irene has never been so satisfying to the sense of reality. He means her to be an image of Beauty herself, troubling and disastrous. Yet Irene is not consistent in her dreamlike ways, and her conduct does not always march with honour. But Mr. Galsworthy is a gentleman, too much of a gentleman for the post-war generation. His courageous efforts to convey the up-to-date language of Fleur sometimes cause the reader a sympathetic shudder. The attempt is so alien to him that he overdoes it. The post-war trilogy cannot grip like the earlier books. The young people are too greedy, careless, luxurious; these unreal fashionable lives have no meaning—they have not even the apology

of grace or splendour. We go on perversely getting more at ease with Soames, who certainly mellows. There has always been something inhibited about Mr. Galsworthy's great talent; he cannot escape from the conventions of good society. True, he has put on record a kind of English family fact becoming extinct, and he has done it with the truthfulness of a Sargent, though with more quietude of attack. Still, why has his sad pessimism, his regretful sense of perishing beauty, his eager kindness, never caught the magic fire of genius? Why has he not written oftener an exultant heathenish thing like *THE OLD STOIC*? Soames has entered into something like a state of grace; the young people have merely added to the despondency of the post-war novel.

MR. WELLS is still active, with amazing dexterity juggling the coloured balls of his brisk ideas, which are much the same as of old, turning all the bright wheels of his mechanic intelligence in his efforts to speed a reluctant humanity into a mechanic future. MR. BRITLING SAW IT THROUGH—not much to our illumination. Mr. Wells' heroes, even when their brains are assisted by adequate intellectual liaisons, come to their fairly obvious conclusions puffing so noisily. He has brought Ann Veronica up to date in *CHRISTINA ALBERTA*. He has gathered up his criticism of life in *MR. CLISSOLD*. He has also written recently a generous-tempered book, *MEANWHILE*, with something like a lady in it. But he has only the other day startled us with the incredible notion of a "religion without mysticism," complete with Wellsian Sundays. I think of the feasts of the Goddess of Reason, and feel that even Calvinist Sundays would be preferable. Be that as it may, Mr. Wells has never again so nearly approached a great novel as he did in *TONO-BUNGAY*. His journalist style has no quality, save that of rapidity. Smaller intelligences fare badly in copying his interjected manner; and his cheap and jaunty treatment of sex has helped to destroy in the pre-war novel the notion of love.

THE journalist's coarse thumb has also put its imprint on the rarer and more mysterious matter of G. K. Chesterton. There is more wisdom shut in his paradox than most people realise, and *THE RETURN OF DON QUIXOTE*, for all its coloured absurdity, maintains a passionate mediæval dream of faith and pity which will never lose its authority. He is like the Tumbler of Our Lady in the old legend; but he is also a champion with a straight lance-thrust. Prodigious as few are in these days of sterility, he throws wise and beautiful phrases about him with a great unthrift. The stinting post-war people shudder at a mannerism like a sounding trumpet; but the stubborn group of Romantics are glad of him on their stricken Flodden field.

X.

No! the survivor from before the deluge, upon whose Aubusson carpet the young men set their recurrent feet, whose early novels, elegantly rewritten, mingle gaily with the younglings of the year, is the indestructible Mr. George Moore. Well! He preached the sovereign rights of the ego and the validity of its desires long before it was fashionable, while his flair for French movements made him the first of the realists in the days of *ESTHER WATERS*. In the post-war years he applies his flexible cunning-simple style to mystical matters; and, since there is always an excessive amount of joy when one sinner returns to the heaven of respectability, it is the mode to fall into raptures over the *BROOK KERIOTH* and *HELOISA AND ABELARD*. I do not merely find Mr. Moore's artfully-mannered style become nauseous, both when it cajoles the gospel story and when it accosts the haughty and burning soul of Heloisa. Losing all sincerity, it actually bores. But when, with all its agreeable perversity, its stinging and silken quality, its undulating movement, it is perfectly united with the theme of self, he confesses all his own and others' sins so engagingly that I understand why time has not only shriven but beatified him. It is in his autobiographies that Mr. Moore is most a novelist, and a post-war novelist. Sensibility, shamelessness, infinite curiosity, naïve surprise, the art of reverie—he is a kind of modern Rousseau who has never for a moment dreamed a Social Contract, a kind of modern Montaigne without quite enough imagination to attain a true Pyrrhonic irony. Yet he has brought both frankness and elasticity to the novel.

A MUCH more English figure also infatuated with France, though in a touching hopeless way, is that of Arnold Bennett, whose sternly practical maxims to authors have caused a bright young novelist to call him the "foreman of British fiction." The popular baron of the Five Towns is under the illusion that he is a disciple of Flaubert; and he does not weary of telling us that he cannot read Dickens. The great gusto of Mr. Bennett's rushing style at no moment recalls the passion for perfection that consumed the martyr of style; at his best he creates human beings so simple, throbbing, and lovably ridiculous that they really have something in common with the cordial inhabitants of Dickens' more fantastic world. If he had had a particle of the artistic conscience of Maupassant, Flaubert, or even the overwrought Balzac, his future fame would have been assured. But, having had one mood of imaginative sorrow when he saw Sophia pass obscurely from her girlish beauty to dusty age in the *OLD WIVES' TALE*, one mood of sympathetic insight when he set the dreadful duel between father and son in *CLAYHANGER*, and, since the war, one clarified mood in which the admirer of *Pretty Ladies* beheld redeeming love glorify an ignorant servant girl in squalid *RICEYMAN STEPS*, Mr.

Bennett has otherwise bowed his head to Mammon. Scott wrote desperately to satisfy his sense of honour, Balzac toiled gigantically to win a loved lady. The immorality of Arnold Bennett, writing gay farces to keep the wolf from the door of the Grand Babylon Hotel, and the yacht touching at all the ports of the coast of pleasure, deserves and receives the bright satire of the intelligentsia. All that superb vitality, openly spent in the service of materialism ! It is a pity !

SOME of that vitality might have carried Mr. Hugh Walpole upon the burning plane of genius, instead of leaving him on the highest altitude of talent. He is worthy of great admiration, as an author guiltless of potboilers. Even his Grand Guignol study of sadism is not merely sensational ; it is the artistic release of a suffering repression that aches through his controlled art. Not by any capricious gift of grace, but by concentrated attention and scrupulous conscience, by a passionate patience has he distilled from his slow crucibles a spiritual reality which he communicates to his cure of souls. Like Mr. Galsworthy, he deals with the chances and changes of long-established families, and the passing conditions of society. But he is almost a Balzac of the closes. The Gothic CATHEDRAL looms over the city, a great apocalyptic gryphon, monstrous and sweet, with a beauty inimical to the sleepy Anglican cloister ; and the Archdeacon, as its slave, alters nobly from the ludicrous to the tragic. The Old Ladies again live with an uncanny horror and a really intolerable pathos—like “*la Cousine Bette*” and “*le Cousin Pons*.” Curiously enough, in the honourable ethic of this novelist, whose imaginative sympathies are so strong, you feel sometimes a strain of cruelty like an illness, not natural to him, but as if acquired from the early imposition of some excessive suffering, and disguised as a worship of Fortitude. A noble virtue ; but it can be overwrought.

XI.

STILL, though all these distinguished novelists maintain their prestige, they do not vary much from the paths of their predecessors. Younger people, restless and disillusioned after the fierce excitements and exhaustions which the war meant for so many, desired novelty in all things for their jaded minds. The experiments to find new forms, new angles, new planes of emotion and vision, really began, we are told, about 1910 ; but the interruption of the war quickened artistic impatience with the matter that served well enough before. A psychological theory and a literary method that had both been quietly permeating English literature for some time now rose and met together in a glad entente. The English novel was submerged by the theory of Freud and the method of Proust. Pattern and rhythm vanished from its pages as weeds outworn, as from poetry, painting, and music.

The simple duty of the novel was now to arrest the stream of consciousness by a babbling of unintelligible incantation ; better still, to arrest the stream of the unconscious. It is only fair to remark that some argue that Mr. James Joyce made this discovery all by himself in *ULYSSES*. I can only observe that the stream of Mr. Joyce's consciousness is so offensive to me as an artist, that it has no interest for me as a psychologist. The fashionable snobbery to-day is the idolatry of the unmentionable ; but I will not be bullied into an admiration of Mr. Joyce. His method seems as inchoate to some as it appears to be stimulating to others.

PEOPLE in the Middle Ages lived impulsively and violently by their unconscious selves ; the angelical doctors and pontiffs of their all-comprehending Church were conscious for them, though a few audacious poets by ancient heathen heresy plundered a deal of the sacred authority sometimes. The Renaissance pride brought every joy and dream and desire to fruit and flower in the consciousness of art, till the rapture faded, and the world was left to live by the Inquisition of Reason, while the unconscious seethed in oubliettes, forgotten by art and love. But the Romantic again heard immortal nightingales and sensed the drifted rose in its darkness ; and, though strange ghosts glimmered sometimes on its dim threshold, we did not dream of its unimaginable iniquities. Indeed its intimations, though agonising sometimes, seemed beautiful enough—like the drifted rose, as I said.

THE influence of Freud, who is, of course, a remarkable genius of the experimental kind, and whose theories are much perverted by ignorant imitators, has had deplorable results on recent English fiction. The French novel continued its way unaffected ; the French novel had never suffered from repressions. The English novel unfortunately had, especially after the accession of Victoria. The Freudian theories of sex were seized upon with an evil avidity and freely used, especially by women, both inartistically and unscientifically. Miss May Sinclair, for example, was hailed as both "daring" and "powerful" ; and some of her exercises in sex-pathology are striking enough. But her endless studies of women who go mad because they cannot marry, and men who do worse because their wives behave badly, have become monotonous, even for the public, especially since her real eloquence has degenerated into an infantile staccato.

It is time, I think, that somebody wrote a defence of the unconscious. It keeps secrets of beauty as well as terror ; it is essence and asphodel as well as ashes of the past ; it is sacred stuff woven for ancient gods ; its desideria prevail like music ; when its wounds well through in mournful stigmata, it is not always best to be cured. If the unconscious is worse than an enemy may guess, it is often sweeter than any dear friend may know. Still, it is the unconquerable self, the shaping

Hellenic power of the imagination, that should accept and civilise the dark divine Asiatic world of unconscious good and evil.

THE slandered Unconscious, however, is at present considered by the novelists as a vast secret preoccupation with sex. This theory is the more welcomed because the listless, selfish individualism of the time has decreed that love is out of fashion. Love—that is, imaginative love, platonic love, romantic love, poetic love! If Plato wrote of the goal which was “the flashing beauty of the beloved,” if Dante on the edge of Paradise felt “the stirring of an ancient flame,” if all the poets and romancers have maintained the historic fable and metaphysic of love, the more fools they. It is a wasting fantasy, consuming energy better applied to more masculine duties. Wells, Shaw, and the rest had decided this already. Having discovered the mischief of this unconscious self, we decide to placate sex and forget love. Let inconstancy be a habit, infidelity a matter of doctrine, and remember that desire is a matter of the glands, not of the heart! Let the novel disdain the trivial matter of a love affair. Well! it seems to have parted with the imaginative ecstasy of love only to be harassed by the physical preoccupation of sex. The emotionals, like D. H. Lawrence, are driven by sex as by a mania; the intellectuals, like Aldous Huxley and William Gerhardt, seem to be coldly afflicted with it as by a chronic catarrh.

CONNECTED with the obsession of sex is the antipathy against the family. The denuding satire of Samuel Butler has continued and combined with the Freudian theory to the complete discredit of the English family; even the few authors who write without animus are fascinated by the slow disintegration of such a group, bound by a love and hate so intimate to the blood. Hardly any novelist of distinction is without his analysis of family relations, frequently applied to many generations. E. M. Delafield mocks humorously at the humbugs of relatives. With a severe distinction of manner, Amber Reeves waves away its pretences with cool contempt. Hugh Walpole and Mr. Galsworthy build up intricate genealogical trees. Miss Margaret Kennedy's great success, *THE CONSTANT NYMPH*, is partly due to the original description of a family at once lovable and disreputable; though perhaps, less consciously, to a secret reaction of the public towards virgin-worship in the luckless attractive person of Tessa, while mere pleasure in a really dramatic story counts for a great deal. Stephen Hudson is an animated chronicler of the pangs and disasters brought on a young man starved of the sympathy of his nearest kin. Some leisurely writers are really fascinated by the groups of blood-kindred, especially when they belong to a perishing stock. In *THE ORISSERS*, by L. H. Myers, the family is folded upon itself like a morbid flower. Through pages of rich and sombre prose we see the tired leaves fall one by one in weary grace. The Orissers have become a sacred folk apart, a brooding

orchid race, with Lilian for its communicating intelligence. In the enchanted atmosphere of the lovely drowsy house, it seems natural enough that even homicide should pass as a casual necessity to prevent the shattering of the spell.

YET, long before Freud, did Beatrix Esmond say "You never loved me, mother"; and the Master of Ballantrae made of his brother his most intimate enemy. And long before that did Clarissa Harlowe find her foes in her nearest kin. And still long, long before that, did sisters and brothers and mothers confront each other with daggered speech as swift as their daggered hands. We dig a little more about the roots of that dangerous family tree whose fruits are so diverse; but we are only proving things known silently from the days of Cain and Abel, to use symbolic figures.

XII.

HERE is a dark garden where hallucinated roses are black against the silver shield of a monstrous moon, and heavy garlands of honeysuckle breathe the incense round sardonically smiling Herms. Tormented, indistinguishable shapes wander disconsolate. This is that hell of the nerves created by Mr. D. H. Lawrence, the post-war prophet of the unconscious.

It is true that Mr. Lawrence had achieved recognition before the war. But it is his post-war work that has brought his admirers into a kind of cult, and divided his readers between rage and idolatry. The fact that he has the temperament of a genius, and a strangely passive intellect, gives him both a power and a weakness most baffling to those who seem to see in his work a moaning lost beauty, wandering in the corridors of frenzy. The much discussed Oedipus-complex did possess this strange author before Freud found a name for it. He describes his early life in *SONS AND LOVERS*, a suffering-eloquent book which keeps more coherence than most of his later books do. His theme is the torment of sex, and the destructive beauty of woman, his enemy; the momentary ecstasy and the eternal deception of the passion embrace. You often become thoroughly sick of this violent inhuman lover, and of the women who yield and curse. It is a hysteria of sex, in which the man is broken like Krebensch on the moonlight challenge of women driven by desire even as Phædra, who was "own daughter to Pasiphæe." And, indeed, masochisms, sadisms, perversions, are all seized and thrown aside by this exasperated spirit seeking its way to some diviner consummation.

FOR it is the spirit that seeks. So the work of Lawrence is lifted into a kind of mysticism. There is a smell of pine and shed violet in this dark forest, and the cry of Atthis maddened by the Great Mother. All this excessive violence is the violence of weakness, of course; but

it is a weakness in which the instinct gropes for some lost wisdom. And he can convey textures and fragrances and colours almost as richly as Keats. For the notation of his inarticulate moods he has devised an interwoven system of iterations which, in its beginning, is quite lovely, as when he contrives a rune of roses in *SONS AND LOVERS*. Like the maddening beat of tom-toms and the crying of sistra, it accompanies well enough his more orgiastic passages; but sometimes it becomes senseless and unendurable as a tic.

HE is the complete individualist and moral anarchist, destroying everything in his search for peace. He disintegrates the family; he has no social responsibility. But through the pulses of his blood, in destruction, in darkness, this passionate nihilist is seeking for a God. To find Lawrence at his best we should read the volume containing *THE LADYBIRD* and the *CAPTAIN'S DOLL*. For in these stories a certain dramatic irony and shaping power qualify his obsessions; and in the figures of the English lady and the Polish count, he shapes, for once, a poetic pair of lovers, the Persephone and Pluto of his mystic darkness. It would take long to analyse out the perplexed attitude of Lawrence, which keeps throughout all experience in Sicily, Australia, Mexico, a surprising naïveté. The gods may indeed come into his clearing in the Dark Forest, as he suggests in a lucid interval in a very mad book. They often come wearing the vizards of beasts.²

XIII.

HERE is an Augustan country house with a formal garden, a few stone satyrs here and there. Within are baroque pictures by painters like Domenichino and Caravaggio, and seducing Crebillonesque furniture. This is the pavilion of Mr. Aldous Huxley, descendant of a famous line, an intellectual of the first quality, whose *ANTIC HAY* is one of the representative novels of the time. Pre-war fiction regarded its characters with sympathy, at least with tolerance. Post-war novelists eye them with bleak malevolence. Did a rhetorical poet speak once of "the spendours of man's Babyionian heart"? We know now all its hidden lusts and vanities, its silly little day-dreams. Mr. Aldous Huxley is clever; he is cultivated; with hints from Rabelais or whimsies from Sterne or quotations from the classics he titillates your brain. Yet how stupid is his blithe libertine wit in some ways! What a wearisome schoolboy joke is the business of Gumbriel's patent small-clothes, or that vulgar exploitation of a fading woman's misery in *THOSE BARREN LEAVES*. And why, with ingenious malice, does he torment such artificial folk? They involve pose within pose, till, like the lady in *TWO OR THREE GRACES*, they hardly know who they are. Their very names are incredible. Their every jerky action is motiveless.

² In Mr. Lawrence's recently published book, *THE WOMAN WHO RODE AWAY*, his genius is revealed at some of its most fortunate moments. The name-story compels the reader to pass through an experience of great imaginative intensity.

Could Gumbriel, imbecile as he is, really break the crystal tree of his white felicity for such motiveless importunity? How could anybody endure one instant the blond beast Colman "howling the Black Mass"? If Mr. Lawrence lacks amenity, Mr. Huxley seems to have lost all humanity. He can be more philosophic when he adopts the tradition of Peacock; though the ingenious Mr. Cardan, for instance, seems to have come by way of Norman Douglas' Island of Nepenthe. Still, the scene in *ANTIC HAY*, when the dead souls dance in the cabaret to the mad night-music while the woman's heart silently laments for Lycidas, lasts in the memory as one testimony true to a certain side of post-war existence.

THE idea of the night-music instantly suggests Mr. William Gerhardt, whose irresponsible refugees go dancing and drifting towards the final disintegration. Irreverent, inconsequent, improper, he jests his way among his engaging mob of conscienceless young people. But his jests are of the Heine kind, and he hides a gift of tears, or catches a wild grace sometimes, as of a lost pierrot weeping to the iron skies. His is a wounded imagination that dares not be serious; his *soties* loosen a piercing arrow.

MR. E. M. FORSTER is another intellectual of very distinguished quality. He regards his characters, not with active malevolence or mockery, but with a cool disinterestedness which often leaves them hard to understand. The truth is that his heart is with the carven rock and lucid pool, and holy asphodel of Greece, or with bronze sailors by the siren sea. That lovely book, *THE CELESTIAL OMNIBUS*, contains far more beauty and tenderness than any of his long novels, the *PASSAGE TO INDIA* even, remarkable as that may be for its cool felicity of style. His distaste for enquiring closely into the heart of woman sometimes confuses the psychology of the novels. He is not in tune with his period; he, too, at moments, looks at his kind as if it were "canaille."

XIV.

IT is time to speak of the women, of whom only too many are novelists. I hasten to admit that some are very good indeed. And though a few have exploited too unwisely the more archaic mysteries of the unconscious, others have dwelt in its violet penumbra, "wrapt in silver veils, thinking delicate thoughts," like the moon goddess. These are afraid of the obvious; their patterns are laid so faintly that a sigh might disturb them. The ghost of the wave that follows the breaking foam is not more ethereal than their fine reverie. Their words are like wafts of pale sound from a harpsichord. At times the story seems to begin in the air and end with a gesture. Something new is coming out of this suprasensual art. The pressure of intense emotion is breaking down barriers, rarefying sight and hearing, to reach the

things beyond vision and audibility. The difficult equivocal genius and the lovely learned fantasy of Hope Mirrlees, the colourless familiar way in which E. B. C. Jones conveys strange and terrible crises that happen almost in silence to sensitive people, the uncanny psychical exposures of Clemence Dane, the flashlight divinations of Katherine Mansfield, who hardly belongs to the novel proper, the limpid pools of Viola Meynell's meditation, so clear that you hardly realise they could drown the heart; the surprising technique of Dorothy Richardson, which solders us to the many volumes of Miriam's life adventure, much as her namesake in the dawn of the novel kept his readers breathless through his long histories of the anxious feminine heart; all these are worthy of detailed appreciation. But the muse of Virginia Woolf, her raiment falling like that of a Greek mourner, upholds a pale mysterious lantern. The earlier work of this distinguished lady fascinates by its spiritual chiaroscuro, the interchange of "the bright light, the dark shadow"; but her two last books lie bathed in a luminous halo of new beauty. The stream of consciousness has become an eddy in the river of heavenly life, a spiral flinging up the fine flower and foam of existence. The impression is built up of flavours, tones, lights, cadences, glances, memories; and the perfection of a day is suspended in eternity. *MRS. DALLOWAY* is a web of intercrossing vibrations. Pain and bliss are woven up into a mystic excitement and a supreme tenderness. This book has a wonderful unity like a globe of rose-crystal. *TO THE LIGHTHOUSE* is less perfectly proportioned, lacking the unity of time; but the figure of Mrs. Ramsay has an amazing enchantment, as of a Hellenic figure seen through a mist. And like a pensive lady on a stele she well may be, since death, like the great angel on the Ephesian column, has taken her hand though she knows it not. Yet she is stirred with gaiety of little things. The vibrating hearts of those about her bead out a softly-flaming pattern of reverie. Tansley, one of her friends, thinks of her "stepping through fields of flowers, taking to her breast buds that had broken and lambs that had fallen"; he sees her among cyclamen and violets. The sense of simultaneous existences is as strong as ever; but she is a gentle Fate that watches them all. The prose of the second part, with its lilted-in refrains and its sombre parentheses, is magical and solitary as Mallarmé's. Virginia Woolf's enigmatic genius prepares only psychical plots for her readers. She is a great artist and a profound analyst of the soul.

SOME of the women confront a life more ringing with adventure. Miss F. Tennyson Jesse writes sometimes like one of Conrad's young heroes, chivalrous, ardent, and gallant, in love with the sea. Mary Borden is a most accomplished writer whose dazzling effects, for some odd subjective reason, do not hold the memory. She can give a luminous impression of New York with its soaring towers of fantasy; but the fine unscrupulous people vanish, children of unmitigated privilege

with an inherent worthlessness, though *JANE, OUR STRANGER*, does remain like a granite monolith amid the Parisian crowd of corrupt and glittering idlers. The brilliant Rebecca West achieved some beauty in the *RETURN OF THE SOLDIER*, and missed both beauty and truth, though she arrested attention in the audacious repellent narrative called the *JUDGE*, in which a doting mother becomes a deadly incubus. Rose Macaulay, again, is a captain in the light brigade of the satirists, cynically amusing in her skirmishes against contemporary fads and follies. Several women write the regional novel, for they have a natural sympathy with the growing and fading things of the soil in which their own lives are rooted. For me, Sheila Kaye Smith has always been a third-rate Hardy; she merely creates a desire for Eustachia on the lonely heath, and Bathsheba Everdene, and Giles Winterbourne among the orchards. Sweeter is Mary Webb, whose style of wrought moon-fligree can snare the sleeping hills and golden pools in her Shropshire of appleblow and honeysuckle, and whose masterpiece, the flowery pastoral, called *PRECIOUS BANE*, was well-praised long before the Prime Minister read it. In Francis Brett Young, this favoured county of Shropshire finds another interpreter. In the elaborate *PORTRAIT OF CLARE*, this serious and sincere writer has lavished the finesse of his style in surrounding young love with all the rush of spring between the Severn and the sea. It is the triumphal and radiant sense of natural beauty that lifts this book into power. Clare, herself, is rather a weakling; her creator dotes on her too much, which is always a mistake. So did Meredith with his Diana.

I HAVE drifted away from the women novelists in thinking of Shropshire, a county immortalised after all not by prose but by the lyrical perfection of our only satisfying living poet. The name of Storm Jameson must be mentioned among the women's company. She can take a masculine view of a whole epoch in a book like *THE LOVELY SHIP*; and she is capable of great tenderness in touching the tragedies of youth. She has vision and style.

XV.

SOME brief allusion must be made to the novel of fantasy, which does, in a way, belong to the "literature of escape." This kind of fiction is now very delicately and daringly manipulated, and touches many notes in the gamut of emotion. And, at its best, it does not only evade those categories of time and space, that have become too intolerable, but sounds the clarion for a perilous siege and a more aerial adventure on a new plane. "Childe Roland to the Dark Tower came" is often the theme. Walter de la Mare murmurs in prose as well as in verse: "'Is there anybody there?' said the stranger," and gets baffling or ethereal responses, while Masfield continues to send his call through the clear golden sunsets, requiring from all his heroes, in his divinely

nonsensical way, the superfluous and the superfine in the way of conduct. Very differently, Mr. Garnett relates the incredible alteration of Lady into vixen, with the dry sparseness of eighteenth century correctitude. Margaret Irwin has an elvish way with her; and Sylvia Townshend's *LOLLY WILLOWES* welcomes her Black Knight with a sidelong irony of gay Satanism. *THE GREEN LACQUER PAVILION* of Helen Beauchamp has a peculiar graciousness of air. *Hope Mirrlees' LUD-IN-A-MIST*, and J. B. Priestley's *ADAM IN MOONSHIRE* are enchanting fantasias with a cry of real warning and regret in them. Sometimes the fantasy passes into the kingdom of horror. The "Grand Guignol" taste is a strange paradox. It suggests a craving for something very raw to sting through the insensibility of a palate that has become hardened against the insidious flavours of the great old wines.

XVI.

It cannot be denied that much has been gained by the new elasticity of the novel and the widening of its psychological content. The humorous attitude has become infinitely more versatile for instance; its diversities have exquisite edges; we are practised in all the amusing ways of avoiding or postponing catastrophe. The sense of history has also been subtilised, so that "period" value exhales here and there in modern fiction as a faëry bouquet that suggests none of the patient inevitable process of distillation. Dialogue is nervous, and the attack on attention is a beguiling manœuvre. Constructive effects have been subtilised by imitation of the other arts, especially music. The technique of the novel is now admirable. But the novel's matter is humanity, and humanity is languid.

STILL, there are signs of quickening life. Faint edges of lambent flame creep round the body of our darkness and defeat, that may yet invade the whole in one wild rush. Of some illuminating writers I have spoken. Let me add that there are actually some young Romantics or Romantic Realists, even at this time, when it takes courage to be a Romantic. (I do not mean sentimentalists, for the Romantic is a deadlier foe to the sentimentalist than the so-called realist.) Ireland possesses two. Conal O'Riordan, the historian of the ingenuous Adam and his ancestors, has restored mirth and grace to the Dublin reduced by James Joyce and Liam O'Flaherty to the state of a suburb of Hell; and Donn Byrne has followed wild banners to half-fabulous cities smouldering like mighty gems in the dusty gold distances of the East, or heard Blind Raftery in the soft Spanish West of Ireland kinging it among the poets.³ And last year brought a new romantic realist to fiction when H. M. Tomlinson wrote out the odyssey and shaping of a human soul in *GALLIONS REACH*, with splendid words new-minted and ringing with unsuspected or forgotten powers. Romantics have allies in the passionate melancholics, so much more alive than the

³ Since this was written, a tragic accident has ended the career of the brilliant Irish novelist.

cynic sort. It is intensity of emotion that matters; out of the nadir of suffering a star of tender crimson grows in the end. Writers like Geoffrey Dennis, with his horror of Eternity and his hopeless dream of a high heavenly love, the young author of *THE WITHERED ROOT*, with his indignant comprehending vision of the blighted mine country, and his requiem for frustrate beauty, T. E. Powys, who makes a bizarre world of sweet innocents harried by goat-foot satyrs, yet gently stays the Earth one night so that MR. WESTON'S GOOD WINE may be given to some, and to others, his deadliest and his best. And we may approve a public that eagerly buys a book like *THE BRIDGE OF SAN LUIS REY*, a book with a design as perfect as a passion flower in amethyst and ivory, with a movement modulated and complete as a sonata's. An American book, but, like many American books, of European derivation!

XVII.

YET, when all is said, there remains to the Pre-War novel a certain poverty of imaginative substance. In the suppliancy of even the richest story to-day, one could hardly sink a shaft that would sumptuously disappear into the pure dense emerald matrix. You would soon pierce grating through the fair superficialities. It is rarely founded on any sincere notion of spiritual value. A sense of divinity, any kind of divinity, even if it be called Fate or the mighty Darkness, always increases the splendour and passion of the æsthetic effect. D. H. Lawrence really has an inarticulate dream of divinity; that is why we go on steadily and anxiously expecting his next book.

I HARDLY believe that there is much social significance in the novels of the day—not so much as in France and Germany. The intense preoccupation with the individual soul only shows that any definite Vision of Life does not exist even as substantially as a rainbow. Most unfortunately the few novels that cultivate at least a rainbow-end seem to keep it in dull ditchwater. But our supersensitive Rousseaus, our deist eighteenth century elegants, our strengthening Romantics, our dealers in the horror story, almost seem to repeat a pre-revolutionary grouping. Every Romantic movement, like the Renaissance, is a return to Greece. Sick of the inchoate, dreaming of lovely contours, our artists think again of Hellas, where the Absolutes of art were revealed. And, since they must pass through the coloured and carven ways of mediævalism on the way back, they make their own new imaginative synthesis all over again. When the young begin to dream again at dawn of lucid shapes among the hushed amaranth and limpid waters, renaissance daisies will stir once more under the white feet of the returning muses.

THEN the novel will shape again into its vital rhythm and acanthus pattern, to contain more flamelike and exultant matter. But, of course, the Revolution may come first.

RACHEL ANNAND TAYLOR.

SOME NOTES ON FIELD SYSTEMS IN MEDITERRANEAN LANDS
AND IN THE ATLANTIC COASTAL LANDS OF SOUTH WEST EUROPE.

I. BRITTANY.

In certain islands of Brittany, traces of an open-field type of cultivation still exist. Ile d'Arz and Ile aux Moines in the Morbihan, Houat and Hœdic in the Morbraz and Ile de Groix in the open Biscay Bay, are specially worthy of attention.

REMNANTS of the same old Armorican land, they all have some physical features in common. The islands are for the most part of low elevation and flat-topped. The surface is largely "*lande*," i.e., rough pasture with gorse, heather and bracken, but is also made up of patches of potentially fertile soil, due to the disintegration of granitic rocks and the deposition of plateau limon. These fertile patches are most often found towards the centre of the island, while the waste pastures lie in from the cliff edge. The coasts are characterised by rocky headlands between which may be sheltered bays, where the sand is deep and fine, and scintillating with mica and quartz and containing cassiterite and emery grains weathered out from metalliferous veins, which often show up as conspicuous bands in the cliffs. The prevalence of such mineral resources in Houat and Hœdic has marked them out as the possible Cassiterides of the ancients,¹ and it may have been this reason which made them so popular with the stone monument builders—increasingly thought to belong to the Copper and Early Bronze Age—as witness the plentiful megalithic remains in the region.

THE islands have the rainfall of N.W. Europe and plentiful sunshine. Exposure to the westerly winds retards, and in many cases entirely prevents, the growth of trees, but in sheltered spots they may be found, as well as such sun-loving plants as mimosa, myrtle and vine. Streams are rare but springs are plentiful, often occurring near the shore. Tidal races among the islands, and between the islands and the mainland, coupled with strong winds, tend to isolation, and also create the necessity of alternative landing places. Even a small island generally has two ports, and characteristically these are also sites of springs.

¹ Siret, L., LES CASSITÉRIDES ET L'EMPIRE DES PHÉNICIENS, L'ANTHROPOLOGIE, xxi., 1910.

ISOLATION largely accounts for the spirit of exclusiveness and mistrust often shown by islanders. Many of the inhabitants of Houat and Hœdic have never been to the mainland, neither do they visit or esteem each other, though, given good conditions of wind and tide, the distance between the two islands may be done in less than an hour. The charter of the two islands, which held until recently, forbade women under the age of thirty to visit the mainland. This may be the expression of racial antipathy, but may also have been dictated to meet the difficulty of early marriage in the islands. A man had first to do obligatory service in the navy and then to take up fishing and become one of a boat's crew, before he was in a position to marry.²

THE islanders are occupied with fishing and farming. In most cases the fishing is of a local character, providing the main food for the islands, while the selling of the surplus on the mainland enables the islanders to buy supplementary foodstuffs and manufactured articles. In Ile aux Moines, farming occupies a secondary position, and farmers are looked down upon by the fishermen. A large number of the population are navigators engaged in long distance voyages, and these rank highest in the social scale.³

SIMILAR instances of differentiation in maritime activities may be noted from the Hebrides and from Spain. In Long Island, while most of the men of Lewis fish in the British seas, those of Barvas do long distance voyages, and while most of the fishermen of the North Coast of Spain fish locally, the men of Luarca are navigators. In the Balearic Islands also, the Minorcans are fishermen, while the Mallorcans have been enterprising navigators from earliest times.

It is worth noting that many of the family names in Ile aux Moines end in "o," e.g., Pinto, Luco, Prado, &c., and this suggests the settlement at some time of a Spanish colony in the island.⁴

CONNECTED with the sea-farers of Ile aux Moines were various ancient religious rites, notably at the feast of St. Michael, when "*fard*," a special cake of the island, was eaten with wines from distant countries. If the head of the household were absent at sea, the first slice was reserved with ceremony and carefully kept for him until his return.⁵

IN all the islands there is a sharp line drawn between the two occupations of farming and fishing, though this tends at the present day to disappear. It is worth noting that cultivating is always largely the woman's task in primitive groups, as hunting, whether by land or sea, is always that of the man.

² Ardouin-Dumazet, *VOYAGE EN FRANCE*, 4^e série, p. 62, 2nd edition, 1903.

³ Ardouin-Dumazet. *Op. cit.*, p. 106.

⁴ Ardouin-Dumazet. *Op. cit.*, p. 105.

⁵ Ardouin-Dumazet. *Op. cit.*, p. 109.

IN all these islands the "sillon" is the basis of land tenure, and many sillons are cultivated in common. The sillon is a strip of land about 40 metres long by about 65 centimetres wide. A property may consist of as many as 10 sillons, but equal division of property is the rule, and sub-division may be carried so far as to result in "estates" of a $\frac{1}{2}$ sillon. Ardouin speaks of 4,000 properties in Houat, an island only 280 hectares in extent, and of portions being so small that the owners of them took the produce of them every 3rd or 4th year, according to the number of heirs, rather than $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ every year.

FORMERLY, in Hædic, redistribution of property was made in the following way. One of the heirs was blindfolded, another touched the sillon and asked to whom it belonged. The first then gave a name, and the land became the property of the person named.* Here and there, bound-stones are set to mark the divisions, but each owner knows the exact position and extent of his own property.

THIS minute sub-division of the sillon necessitated the continuance of communal cultivation long after individual ownership had become the rule.

COMMUNAL methods of working were also characteristic of other occupations in the Islands. In Houat and Hædic, the communal oven was a great feature. The people were divided into sections, and certain ones took it in turn to take charge of the baking. As each pat of dough arrived at the bakery, it received some distinctive mark, that of a shell, a pebble, a thimble, &c. Then the housewives, drawn up in rows at the door of the bakery, selected one of these objects used for marking the bread from a handkerchief in which they had been placed by the baker, and the object drawn indicated which row was entitled to the best place in the oven.

IN both islands the Cantine or Inn is the communal meeting-place, and practically the home of the men when they are on land.

ON Hædic there is a large pond near the harbour, and the islanders have the right to the grasses and rushes that grow there. Formerly this privilege depended upon the maintenance by each household of a certain portion of the wall which surrounds the pond, the shares being allocated by lot.

THE fertility of the soil is maintained by the application of manure in the form of seaweed, and there are very strict regulations concerning the cutting of this plant. It may be put on the fields in a green state, or after it has been used as litter, or after burning, in the form of ash. In Hædic, since it is now possible to import chemical fertilisers, part of the "goémon" harvest is set aside for the extraction of iodine.

* Ardouin-Dumazet. Op. cit., p. 62.

Animal dung is rarely used to enrich the soil, for trees are so scarce that it is needed for fuel, and for that purpose it is still collected and dried in some of the islands. In Houat, the clearings from the stables are all collected in a great heap just outside the village, and each householder knows his own portion in the communal heap. In the same manner, each householder knows his portion in the unfenced "*landes*," which provide an important supply of fuel and litter as well as rough herbage for the cattle.

PRIMARILY, however, the exploitation of the soil in these islands is based upon the use of "*jachère*" or fallow, and the system is a biennial or two-field one, which may further develop into a four-field scheme.

In Ile d' Arz, with a two-field scheme, the ancient "*jachère morte*" has been replaced by the "*jachère verte*" or green fallow. A green crop may be ploughed in to enrich the soil, and in any case the working of the soil involved in the cultivation of the crop, cleanses the soil, which is one of the great purposes of fallowing. Modern experiments have shown that it is not so much the exhaustion of food supplies for the crop as the choking of it by weeds that lessens its yield.⁷ It must be owned, however, that in Ile d' Arz the infinite sub-division of the land, and neglect of modern methods of cultivation, have led to deterioration of the soil. In many cases it is not found worth while to attempt to cultivate properties of perhaps only a yard or so in length and two feet in width, which may be at least half a mile distant from the village. Such neglected plots often show up as mere patches of thistles in the midst of what would otherwise be a good field of corn.

IN Houat and Hœdic the two fields have been further sub-divided into four and separated by "*fossés*," or walls. These are built of stone surmounted by turfs and were formerly maintained by communal effort. The families were grouped in squads of six households, and eight squads in turn were charged with the upkeep of the walls *in the order they held when baking their bread in the communal oven*.⁸ In Hœdic the fields are known by the following names:—Champ du Lano, Le Runio, Prés des Pierres, and Champ du Menhir. The last contains a menhir more than 4 m. high. Houat also has its Champ du Menhir with a fine standing stone.

SINCE the War, there has been very little growing of corn in these two islands. The corn lands have been laid down to grass, and large numbers of rather low-grade cattle are raised. Previous to 1914, two of the four fields were sown annually with corn and two were

⁷ Ling Roth, H. ON THE ORIGIN OF AGRICULTURE. Journal of the Anthropological Institute. Vol. 16, pp. 135, 136.

⁸ Ardouin-Dumazet. Op. cit., p. 26.

sown with vetches or laid down to grass. There was no hay crop, this being obtained from neighbouring small islands, where no corn could be grown. The scheme was therefore two-field, and this it has virtually remained, since in each island, the half possibly used for corn one year is devoted to hay the next, and vice-versa.

In every case, the settlement related to these various field systems is a nucleated village. Ile aux Moines, Ile de Groix and Ile d'Arz have more than one. In Ile d'Arz the main village has one long street which stretches from near one of the landing places to the top of a low hill on which stands the church. The village plan of Hædic and Houat is somewhat different. In Hædic the houses are arranged in two parallel lines of short rows with a wide space between. This was evidently the original plan in Houat, but the space between is occupied by an inner double line of houses, giving a more nucleated appearance to the whole. The houses are usually of one storey. A row begins with one house, and an additional house is built on to meet the needs of the family as it grows. The result of this is that it is not unusual to find only one family name in any particular row. This growth of the village in rows is characteristic of fishing groups and is especially noticeable in the island of Lewis, Scotland.

BEFORE proceeding to discuss the interpretation of these facts, it will be well to give some account of the conditions of various other regions, and certain ones found in the Ægean seem useful to the discussion.

In the Ægean, many of the islands show a division into two approximately equal parts, and a two-field system of cultivation comparable to that of Ile d'Arz or of Houat and Hædic.⁹ It would seem that this is a scheme that has come down from very earliest times.

PROFESSOR RIDGEWAY has given a good picture of the way in which the land was worked in pre-classical times.¹⁰

It was an open-field system of cultivation, with, as a unit of land measure, the amount a yoke of oxen (or mules) could plough in a day. The standard strip length or furrow, was set by the pace of the oxen, and was a fixed measure; the width of the land was measured in rods (5½ feet), a piece of ground a furrow in length and a rod in width was known as a rood or rod, and four of them made the local acre. Mules working at a faster rate than oxen would plough a greater width per day.

The land was divided into portions, *κλῆροι*, allocated by lot and held in common. In the *Iliad* there is no suggestion of individual property, though traces of the beginning of it may be found in the *Odyssey*, generally in connection with the lands that went with the Chieftainship, or with odd pieces appropriated by strangers or fugitives.

⁹ Information kindly supplied by Professor J. L. Myres.

¹⁰ Ridgeway, Wm. THE HOMERIC LAND SYSTEM. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. VI. pp. 319-339.

THE Common Field contained sets of strips divided by οὔρα, or bound-stones and the plough turned upon the τέλσον ἀρούρης or headland.

A ερκος, or enclosure, might be met with on the land of the Chief-tain, and was a common feature in connection with the individual homestead, but was never found in the ἀρουρα or Common Field, which was always unenclosed.

PROFESSOR RIDGEWAY maintains that the system was that known as the "two-shift," for whenever ploughing is mentioned, it invariably takes place in the νεῖς or fallow.

AUGUSTE JARDÉ¹¹ is of opinion that the field system in the Ægean was biennial in Classical as well as in Homeric times, and further, that there has been little subsequent change.¹²

He notes that the leases of land ran in pairs of years, 10, 14, 20, 40, whereas in France they were for 3, 6, 9 years in accordance with the more generally practised three-field system, and in Egypt, where the fertilisation of the soil by floods allowed of continuous cultivation, the letting of land for one year was in use before Roman times and for 3, 4, 5, 6 years during Roman times.¹³ The latter, however, did not exclude the one year lease.¹⁴

In Ægean lands the fallow might be prolonged if necessary, or the sowing might be continuous, though the latter was rare. Some leases laid down the condition that half the land was to be left fallow during the last year of the lease. This presupposes a biennial system of two equal fields, one sown with cereals and the other left fallow during the last year of possession at least, though other schemes would be possible in the preceding years. Jardé cites leases of Classical date¹⁵ which prescribe sowing of cereals and a leguminous crop in alternate years, and this rotation was apparently known to Theophrastus, who advised the sowing of early legumes in order to free the land in summer for preparation for winter sowing, so that this practically amounts to a biennial system with a *green* instead of a *dead* fallow.

JARDÉ also brings out various points concerning the characteristics of Greece as a corn land. It is not a country of vast stretches but rather of isolated and infinitely varying patches of cultivable soil, ranging from the fertile alluvium of such plains as those of Eleusis, Marathon and Bœotia, or the valleys of the Cephissus or the Spercheios, to the poorer soils of the islands of Eubœa, Lelandos, Carystus, Lemnos, &c.,

¹¹ Jardé, A. *LES CÉRÉALES DANS L'ANTIQUITÉ GRECQUE*. 1925.

¹² Jardé, A. *Op. cit.*, p. 190.

¹³ Jardé, A. *Op. cit.*, p. 81 and p. 83 note.

¹⁴ In support of this see papyri 2131, 1643, 1959, 2474 Brit. Mus., which contain references to land where one year leases are specially emphasised.

¹⁵ Jardé, A. *Op. cit.* pp. 85, 86.

or to the still poorer soils of smaller islands such as Icaria and Santorin. Milo¹⁶ has unusually good soil, and remained celebrated for its fertility right on into the 17th century. Its land never rested, the first year it was sown with wheat, the second year it was sown with barley, and the third with cotton and vegetables, and so on continuously. This, however, was the exception, alternation of corn with fallow seems to have been the established rule, and nowhere is there any suggestion of a three-field scheme.

BARLEY and wheat, both varying in their species as much as the soil varied in its composition, were the cereals most usually grown. Of both wheat and barley there were Winter and Spring varieties. Some of the Spring wheats came to maturity with great rapidity. Three months was the usual period. In the island of Carystus, it matured in two months; in the north of Greece, a variety was known which needed only 40 days, and in Milo, the period might be reduced to 30 days.¹⁷ This was an important factor in a biennial system, as it permitted of a longer period of pasturing on the stubble.

THE principle of manuring seems to have been known from earliest times,¹⁸ as also the fact that light soils require less than damp, an important matter in Mediterranean coastal lands. It is interesting to note the variety of materials used;—mud mixed with weeds extracted from the corn crops, sweepings, clippings of hides, ashes obtained from burnt plants or by burning stubble left high for the purpose. The ploughing in of green crops, especially beans, was sometimes resorted to. The parking of sheep was employed in the 2nd century A.D., but in Classical times it was not in favour, sometimes it was definitely forbidden to pasture animals in the fields, even on the stubble. Mineral fertilisers were also known, though little used; marling was resorted to in Megara. It is worth noting that owing to the absence of a broad tidal zone in the Mediterranean, there was no available seaweed.

THE mountains in Greece have limited the extent of the fertile land, and the dry climate has limited its grass pastures. In primitive times, it was well forested and oxen and sheep found herbage in the undergrowth. These pastures were held in common, as were the fields, and it is noticeable that as the idea of private property grows, so we get increased mention of the pastures. In proportion as the forests were cleared for corn, so the extent of the pasture dwindled, and this in turn necessitated the limiting of the big cattle. This meant a corresponding diminution in the supply of manure and hence the necessity of fallowing.¹⁹ This is accentuated by the fact that Greece is a mountainous country, transport by draught or even pack animals

¹⁶ Jardé, A. *Op. cit.* p. 77.

¹⁷ Jardé, A. *Op. cit.* pp. 11, 75, 77.

¹⁸ Jardé, A. *Op. cit.* pp. 25, 29.

¹⁹ Jardé, A. *Op. cit.* pp. 87, 88, 92, 93, 191, 194.

is difficult, and communications tend to be carried on by sea rather than land, all of which further limits the rearing of animals.

THE physical factors of soil and climate still remain, and to this we owe the result that Greek agricultural methods have changed but little, and that a two-field system is still to be found in the poorer districts.

THE type of settlement associated with this system was a nucleated group. Each householder had for personal property his house and a garden round it, and in addition his share in the common arable and in the common pastures.²⁰

WE have noted the occurrence at the present day of a two-field system of cultivation in places so remote from one another as the Islands of the Morbihan and those of the Greek archipelago, and it seems worth while to ask whether in both we have a similar response to differing local geographical factors—for both the soil and the climate of the Morbihan are very different from the soil and climate of the Ægean—or whether the Ægean can have influenced the Morbihan in this matter of field systems.

IT is now generally accepted that agriculture originated in Eastern Mediterranean lands, probably in the Riverine Lands of Mesopotamia and Egypt,²¹ so that one must look for possible influences emanating from the Ægean rather than from the Morbihan. The coastal route between the two seems to suggest certain links.

THERE is no actual evidence from the Balearic Islands, but they provide one or two hints which are to the point. Both Majorca and Minorca are frequently mentioned for the fertility of their soil and for the quantity and quality of their corn.²² The divisions of Majorca are *sixteen* in number,²³ and in Minorca the divisions consisted of *four* "*terminos*," the word "*termino*" coming from the Latin "*terminus*," a boundary or land-mark.²⁴ Both numbers suggest the habit of dividing the land into portions that were multiples of two. But these are mere hints.

RATHER more striking is the fact that a nineteenth century writer describes the large farms in Majorca as usually divided into four portions, in a scheme known as the "*barbecho*" or reposing system, which he gives as follows:²⁵—

²⁰ Jardé, A. Op. cit. pp. 92, 93.

²¹ Peake and Fleure. THE CORRIDORS OF TIME. Vol. iii., 1927.

²² Campbell, C. THE ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY OF THE BALEARIC ISLANDS OR OF THE KINGDOM OF MAJORCA. Translated from the original Spanish, 1716. pp. 7, 10, 12, 28, 30.

²³ Campbell, C. Op. cit. p. 10.

²⁴ Armstrong, J. THE HISTORY OF THE ISLAND OF MINORCA, 1756. pp. 4-6.

²⁵ Bidwell, Chas. T. THE BALEARIC ISLANDS, 1876. p. 71.

	Portion 1.	Portion 2.	Portion 3.	Portion 4.
1st year	Wheat	Barley	Part Beans	Pasture left for Part Beans
2nd year	Barley	Pasture left for Part Beans	Wheat	
3rd year	Pasture left for Part Beans	Wheat	Barley	Wheat
4th year			Pasture left for	

In the smaller farms cereals may be sown every alternate year. On the other hand, in Minorca, the land under cultivation was almost always divided into three distinct sections, one being under wheat, one being prepared for next year's sowing, and the third being under stubble pasture. These systems have now disappeared owing to the use of artificial fertilisers, though in places the primitive alternation of fallow survives.

IN both Spain and Portugal there is evidence of communal cultivation of the soil. A 16th century map of Portugal²⁶ shows quite clearly the open fields with their strips, but documentary evidence of further detail concerning them is not yet at our disposal.

FOR Spain our source of information is Joaquín Costa's work *COLECTIVISMO AGRARIO EN ESPAÑA*, which shows that communal cultivation of the soil was general, and that while often the field system was definitely, or approximately, a two-field one, there is no instance of a three-field scheme as we understand it in Central Europe or in the English Plain.

THE two-field system, as found in Spain, admits of so many variations, that it is worth while to give some particulars for the individual provinces as set forth by Costa.

IN the Sayago district of the province of Zamora²⁷ (Douro basin), the villages number 56, and of these only 4 or 5 have individual ownership of the soil, in all the others both the arable and the grass lands are held in common. Private ownership lies in the possession by each "*vecino*" or householder, of a house, an enclosure of ground between it and the next house, and a garden, where a well is usually to be found.

THE arable land is divided into three "*hojas*," i.e., fields or ploughlands consisting of sets of strips, each set being known as a "*labranza*,"

²⁶ The Coast of Portugal. Wagenar, *THE MARINER'S MIRROR*, 1588, reproduced in *Old Decorative Maps and Charts*, Humphreys, plate 21.

²⁷ Costa, J. *COLECTIVISMO AGRARIO EN ESPAÑA*. pp. 340-347. 1915.

and these are allotted by ballot every two or three years. Every vecino has a right to two or three strips in each *hoja*, and these strips are scattered so as to secure equal division of the good, bad and medium land. Each year one *hoja* is under cultivation and is sown. This is the "*sembrado*." A second is stubble, and is known as the "*barbecho*," while the third is the fallow or "*eriaz*o."

1ST. YEAR.

Corn.	Stubble.	Fallow.
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2ND YEAR.

Stubble.	Fallow.	Corn.
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3RD YEAR.

Fallow.	Corn.	Stubble.
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THE details of the ballot are interesting. Certain officials as well as the vecinos have a right to a share in the land. A widow has half a share. A young man about to marry must put in a claim before the 1st of November—the day when the distribution takes place—and the land is not made over to him unless the marriage takes place before February. Shares not taken up, revert to the "Ayuntamiento" or Council of the village, who raise funds by renting them.

ALL holders, rich and poor alike, pay the same tax, any difference between them only shows when the ploughing begins, when those who have oxen plough for those who have not in return for their food. If a vecino is too poor to provide even food, he lets out his lands for a fixed return in grain.

THE vecinos are summoned to the ballot by the sound of the bell, and the distribution is made in the presence of the "*Alcalde*" or mayor, the Ayuntamiento and the inhabitants. The Ayuntamiento provides wine for the assembly, and this is paid for out of the rent of the inn, which is communal property, or it is bought with the rent of the shares which have reverted to the Council.

A PIECE of paper is provided for each *labranza*, and on it is written the name of the strips of which it is made up, and the name of the last occupier. The papers are shaken in a jug and a boy draws them out. In some villages the members themselves draw. It is quite clear that it is only the right to use the soil of a particular *labranza* that is drawn for. Should any trees be growing on it, they belong to the community. Acorns, for instance, are collected in common and divided among the inhabitants in equal shares.

THE "*baldio*," i.e., the common pastures, exclusive of stubble and fallow, are of two kinds, viz., the "*monte*," which is open woodland

and heath pasture often occupying hill slopes, and the "*dehesa*," which is always enclosed by a fence. Either may be broken up from time to time to provide more arable, though this takes place less frequently in the *dehesa* and is never done in the Sayago district.

THE common pasture is not distributed equally, as elsewhere; each person may only put in the stock that he himself owns, which gives the rich an advantage. The Ayuntamiento issues a notice as to the class of livestock that may go on a particular field, and as to the day on which all cattle are to be taken out. The tax paid for the pastures that are not broken up is divided equally among all who use them in proportion to the number of their heads of stock.

DETAILS of organisation similar to those given above, are also to be found in the villages of Bermillo, Pinuel and Gamones, as well as in Fuentes de Onoro and Villarino de Avies in the district of Salamanca to the south.

PINUEL has an interesting variant in the division of its arable land. It is divided into 2 *hojas* only, which are cultivated in alternate years—a definite instance of a two-field scheme. This adjustment seems to have been made because of the pressure of population, and a report of 1846 claimed that it prevented extremes of poverty, and that mendicants were rare.

AT the same time, the inconvenience of bad cultivation was felt. The poorest class had not sufficient stock to fertilise their land, all their supply of manure being needed for their enclosure and garden. This resulted in such impoverishment of the common lands balloted for year by year, that they did not repay the efforts of the cultivator. In the Catalan Pyrenees, the poor plough-owners who had broken up the monte, had the right to oblige stock-owners to fold their stock on it. In the Aragonese Pyrenees, some villages have communal cultivation without division into individual lots, as well as communal flocks. In both these cases the problem of the impoverishment of the soil offers less difficulty than in Pinuel.

FROM a consideration of the above facts, one sees that the underlying principle throughout is the alternation of cultivation and fallow. It is reasonable to suppose that in the first place there might be an attempt at an equal division of the two. The general poverty of the soil, and the limited extent of more fertile patches over much of Spain would soon demonstrate the necessity of a less exacting method, and a tri-partite division of the land would follow, giving rise to a "three-field" system with two-thirds fallow. This is in strong contrast to the three-field system of Central Europe, in which two-thirds are under cultivation and only one-third fallow, a rotation well suited to a rich soil or to spacious stretches of good land.

ONE might say that in regions of poor soil, where stock-raising is more possible than corn-growing, emphasis is laid on the fallow, and that the three-field system of the Sayago district is a step forward from the two-field. In regions where emphasis is laid on corn-growing, the three-field, as understood in Central Europe, is also a step forward from a two-field or from an abandoned one-field which has become exhausted. Continuous cropping of a one-field is the economic ideal, but possible only in places of extreme fertility, e.g., the island of Alderney²⁸ or the island of Milo, or in places where the fertility of the soil is annually or frequently renewed, as in Egypt.

IN the Province of Léon²⁹ we have also a two-field system with variations.

IN the village of Llanabes (the account is for 1790-93, but the system had remained unaltered up to 1890) the common lands are redivided every ten years, and if anyone dies within the term, their land reverts to the Council. In addition to the arable, 2 "carros" (34 milliares in Santander) of grass are allotted to each vecino.

IN Valdemora the land is divided into four times as many equal strips as there are vecinos, and they are drawn for every six years, each commoner getting a lot of four, situate in different parts. This seems to suggest that the two-field had developed into a four-field system.

CASTILFALÉ has its common lands close to the village. The arable is divided into quinones or shares, which are allotted every six years. The villagers meet on a given day to cut firewood in the montes in common, which wood is then distributed by lot.

IN Villafer land is allotted only to those vecinos who possess oxen, and in proportion to their number of oxen.

COMMUNAL division of land was adopted in Léon as late as 1854. The Council of Léon authorised the Ayuntamiento of Vega de Espinareda to divide the baldio of La Solana among the vecinos, with the condition that there should be a fresh distribution every ten years in order that it should not acquire the character of perpetual right, lest the land lose its communal character.

COSTA says there is evidence of such customs practically through the whole of Léon prior to the nineteenth century. He cites the frequency of such terms as "quinones," "comunas" as applied to land; the existence of fenced garden ground at the side of each house; the large extension, even in his day, of endowed lands belonging to the Council; the compulsory division of even private properties into 2 hojas, one of which had to be sown while the other remained in stubble, in order to facilitate common grazing on the stubble without risk of damage to the crops.

²⁸ Rendered fertile by seaweed manure.

²⁹ Costa, J. Op. cit. pp. 348-353.

IN the Asturias the grasslands are very important. In Ibias and Grandas de Salime there is a large extent of monte. On a certain day, the Alcalde and the assembly of vecinos meet and choose a portion of the monte on which corn is to be grown. This is divided into as many equal portions as there are "*voz devilas*," original vecinos. After drawing lots, each person is put in possession of his share to clear the wild growth and to sow it for himself. This done, they meet again to reed-fence the outer common boundary, which work they perform in common. After harvest they take down the fence, and the land goes back to common use. The following year they select a fresh piece of monte that has not been used for some time.

IN Cangas de Tineo, the pastures are entirely in common and are very important. No stock is admitted to the summer pasture unless it has wintered in the place. There is direct popular government. The supreme authority is vested in the assembly of the vecinos, summoned by the Alcalde with the ringing of the Church bell, generally after mass on Sunday. Attendance is obligatory and there are fines for absence. This assembly decides the day on which the stock are to go to the summer pastures, arranges for the closing of the boundary fences, names the guard, imposes fines, etc. The government gets taxes from each village in a lump sum, which is collected from the inhabitants according to customary assessment corrected yearly.

IN Galicia also the montes are very important. In the eighteenth century, the gentlemen of the country claimed to be the owners of the montes, by right of immemorial possession, though it was not in their power to prevent the farmers, "*labradores*," from breaking them up and sowing at their discretion. Every year, or in alternate years, the commoners meet and select for ploughing a piece of the monte, which either has not been broken up before, or at least not for a period of twenty years. Strips in this piece are allotted to each one in proportion to the amount of arable held by him. The strips are measured with a pole 2.78 feet long, and are known as montes of the rod. This ploughland is generally fenced with a dry thorn hedge or a turf wall, which is taken down at the end of two years after a crop of wheat and a crop of oats have been raised, and the land then reverts to monte for grazing.

IN Burgos, in the district of Salas de los Infantes, there are several villages with extensive communal fields, which are divided periodically among the vecinos. Acinas, for example, has annual distribution of strips in cleared lands, "*rosas*," which are very similar to the cultivated montes of the Asturias and Galicia.

IN 1868 Pinillo de Trasmonte and Cilleruelo de Arriba possessed a cornland in the monte of 200 "*fanegas*" (1 fanega = about 1.59 acres) which was divided every eight years between the vecinos of the two villages without distinction of rich or poor and without rent being

paid. In 1847, Cilleruelo de Abajo had common arable lands to the extent of about 2,000 fanegas. These were divided into two lots, each containing about 200 f. of good ploughland, 300 f. of medium quality, and 500 f. of poor quality. The common grazing lands near the village, the "*ejidos*," were also broken up periodically.

THE municipio of Real Valle and villa de Torrelaguna consists of seven hamlets, four of which were joint owners of a territory of 6 sq. km. called a "*patria*." This also was divided into two lots and one was entirely communal property, while the other was mixed. In the latter, in each period of three years, there was one year of harvests for the individual landowners followed by two years of common grazing on the fallow.

1ST YEAR.		2ND YEAR.		3RD YEAR.	
Common.	Mixed.	Common.	Mixed.	Common.	Mixed.
Fallow.	Corn.	Corn.	Stubble. Fallow.	Corn.	Fallow.

If in the year when there were individual harvests in the mixed lot, there were fallow in the communal portion, the net result would be a two-field system, since half the land would be cultivated and half fallow, but while the mixed portion approximates to the Sayago type of three-field with $\frac{2}{3}$ fallow, the communal approximates to the Central European with $\frac{2}{3}$ cultivation—a very curious combination of the developments in both directions from the two-field system. Twenty years ago the communal portion was divided among the *vecinos*. Eight years later a redistribution was decided upon, but as the population of the four hamlets had not increased at the same rate, they marked off a portion for each hamlet according to the number of its *vecinos*, so breaking up the community in respect of the arable land, and maintaining it only for the common pastures.

UNTIL 1894, Bezares and Barbadillo also held a joint territory, which they divided in the proportion of $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ respectively. One part of it is divided by lot among the *vecinos* every three sowings, i.e., every six years, so as to include the newly married and strangers who have acquired the status of *vecino*. Grazing on stubble and fallow, and on uncultivated parts is the property of the Ayuntamiento, who let it out in order to meet the expenses of the Council, paying in return a tax for each individual. The divisible land, the "*vareo*," is divided into bands, "*pagos*," of its whole length, 50–100 m. wide, and each pago into a number of strips corresponding to the number of *vecinos*. The labranza assigned to each household comprises two or three parcels in each of the pagos, so as to secure a fair division.

The ballot is held in the open-air on the first pago, in the presence of the Ayuntamiento and the whole body of vecinos. The practice here, unlike that of Sayago, is to write on the papers the names of the vecinos, male and female. The papers are shaken in a hat, a boy draws them out, and the first name drawn has the first labranza of the first pago, and so on. The parties go to the ceremony provided with stakes with which to mark their strips. The results of the ballot are entered in books called "*vareos*."

BARBADILLO DE HERREROS has arable land divided by lot. It uses in common beech mast and acorns for pigs, and mountain grass, stubble and fallow for the sheep, oxen and goats. The vecinos manage all their stock jointly, making up flocks from the smaller flocks and entrusting them to the communal herdsman.

IN Estremadura, the survivals of communal landholding are particularly important near the Portuguese frontier.

IN the valley of Trevejo (Cáceres) there are villages with their arable land divided into three hojas (siembra, pastos, barbecho) of which the siembra and the barbecho are sub-divided into as many parcels as there are vecinos, and these are allotted annually. Here, as in Sayago, we have a three-field system with $\frac{2}{3}$ fallow.

IN 1771, and again in 1860, Jerez de los Caballeros had its territory divided into four hojas, one of which was ploughed and sown each year, the other three remaining fallow. This is specially a sheep country, and hence probably the further development of the two-field system with $\frac{3}{4}$ fallow.

IN New Castile, for example at Oropesa (Toledo), the vecinos make use of montes and dehesas for grazing. When the ploughing of the hojas takes place, not a yard is given to the rich until the day labourer has been satisfied. The only money levied on the land is that needed for the necessary officials of the community.

IN Andalusia, we have the record of Alfonso the Wise granting in 1265 to the inhabitants of Coria del Rio privileges in the territory "in which all the vecinos were to hold communal and exclusive right." These were probably colonists. Gradually, the greater part of these lands, without losing their communal character, were planted with olives and vines, the property of their respective planters, while the ownership of the grazing and arable lands remained entire in the hands of the community.

IN the province of Cordoba we find both regular periodical distribution by hojas, as at Sayago, and also the movable rozas at twenty years' interval, as in Burgos, the Asturias and Galicia. The villages of Pedroches de Cordoba and the village of Belacázar have periodic distribution, and in the latter all families, whether occupied in farming

or not, are given their share in the common arable. The village of Adamuz held montes jointly with the villages of Pedroches de Cordoba for the sake of grazing and firewood. They broke up $\frac{1}{25}$ of it at a time for cereals, the quality of the land being so poor that it required twenty years to recover.

IN the Pyrenees the system of the individual retention of the strip predominated over that of periodical distribution, but the latter was not altogether absent.

It is evident from the above data that in Mediterranean lands and in Western Europe, communal cultivation of the soil was the traditional method.

PRIMITIVE peoples taking to agriculture practise continuous cultivation as long as the soil will produce a crop, and move to another place when its fertility is exhausted. Permanent settlement prohibits continuous cropping except under specially favourable conditions, as in the islands of Milo and Alderney, or with the aid of fertilisers, as in modern agriculture.

THE idea of a period of rest and recuperation for the land must have come fairly easily to early permanent settlers, and the length of the rest period would naturally be controlled by the recuperative power of the soil. In Mediterranean lands, where the sun's power is considerable, alternate fallowing and cropping seems to have met the required needs and to have given rise to a definite two-field system.

SPREADING over the fertile loess plains of Central Europe, with the emphasis on corn-growing, this two-field system seems to have developed into a three-field system allowing $\frac{1}{3}$ of the arable for fallow and $\frac{2}{3}$ for corn. On the Atlantic Coast lands of South-West Europe, where the soil on the whole is poorer than in the central plains, and where type of rainfall encourages the growth of grass rather than corn, the two-field developed many variants, often giving rise, as we see in Spain, to a three-field system, in which $\frac{1}{3}$ only is allotted to corn and the remaining $\frac{2}{3}$ to fallow.

THE facts discussed above bring out so strongly the wide distribution and the long prevalent use of a system involving communal cultivation of the soil with methods of alternating cultivation and fallow, that it seems more difficult than ever³⁰ to accept the theory of the German scholar Meitzen, who maintained that such a system was introduced into Western Europe by Germanic invaders in post-Roman times. It seems increasingly probable, and the work of both Ridgeway and Jardé supports this opinion, that the origin of the system is to be found in a very distant past.

S. HARRIS.

³⁰ See Harris, S., "The Village Community of Alderney," *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*, October, 1926. pp. 265-278.

THOUGHT, FEELING, WILL IN THE INDIVIDUAL AND IN SOCIAL FUNCTION.

MY first object in the following pages is to question the validity of accepted views respecting the relations between and the nature and scope of the recognised elements in consciousness—thought, feeling, will. To this end I shall begin by proposing for consideration a conception of the psychosis or unit-process of consciousness differing fundamentally from the prevailing conception. According to the latter the process is composed of three phases corresponding to the primary differentiation. Thus in the *ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA* (eleventh edition), in the late Dr. Ward's famous article, *Psychology*, it is said: "Broadly speaking, in any state of mind that we can directly observe, what we find is (1) that we are aware of a change in our sensations, thoughts, or circumstances; (2) that we are pleased or pained with the change; and (3) that we act accordingly." This analysis seems to me to be unsatisfactory in various ways, as will appear below. The analysis that I would propose instead is as follows, actualities of course being necessarily simplified. First, apart from situations found either wholly satisfying or wholly irremediable, every integral process of consciousness, sensational, perceptual, or conceptual, consists of at least two phases, the phase of reception of a stimulus and the phase of reaction thereto, the phase of impression and the phase of self-expression. Some conscious processes, those namely where, first, antagonistic elements in a complex receptive state tend to incompatible reactions and, secondly, the conflict is between easier and worthier reactions, recognised respectively as such, include a third phase, often only imperfect, the phase of willing, that is of freely-willed choice or self-determination, which is intermediate between the receptive and the reactive phase. Important as this phase is in relation to personality, I shall not consider it further just now, but shall confine myself to the essentials of conscious activity. Next, both the receptive and the reactive phase comprise two sub-phases, or, perhaps it would be more precise to say, are composed of two psychical elements. The receptive phase comprises (i) experience, in which is included a consciousness of maladjustment or of imperfect adjustment to the situation and (ii) attendant affect (or feeling) of dissatisfaction or of imperfect satisfaction. The reactive phase comprises (i) appetite (or conation), that is, desire for a state of satisfaction or of more perfect satisfaction and (ii) attendant endeavour to effect the necessary readjustment. To take an example of conceptual activity with no action in the ordinary sense—the mind's behaviour in relation to a purely theoretical problem. There is here first an experience of some truth inadequately rationalised which produces an affect or part-affect of mental discomfort and on this there ensues an appetite towards ending the discomfort, which

finds vent in adjustive effort after a fuller rationalisation of the said truth. Similarly in the case of a purely sensational or sensorimotor process the energisation of the efferent nerves is the motor effort to solve the sensory problem presented through the afferent nerves. Thus, in any complete psychosis the extreme sub-phases—experience and adjustment—are thoughtful or cognitional, these terms being used in a very broad sense so as to include awareness of all kinds, sensational, perceptual (or mixed), conceptual, while the two mean sub-phases—affect and appetite—are emotional or interestful; these terms, neither of which, in its ordinary meanings, is quite satisfactory, must also be understood broadly. So regarded, each of these pairs of sub-phases also constitutes a phase, the phase of cognition and the phase of interest respectively, each thus consisting of an earlier receptive and a later reactive sub-phase, the sub-phases of the cognition-phase, however, being discontinuous. The succession and interconnexion of phases and sub-phases in a complete psychosis or psychical unit-process just set forth may be represented schematically thus :—

Impression (Reception of stimulus)	Experience	Cognition, Receptive.
	Affect (feeling)	Receptive.
Self-determination—when operative		Interest, {
Self-expression (Reaction in response)	Appetition (conation)	Reactive.
	Adjustment	Cognition, Reactive.

THE scheme; it should be remembered, is an abstraction, in no way representative of the involved complexity, one might perhaps say, the tangle of psychoses in actual psychical functioning. I would add here that a motive seems to me to be neither an affect alone nor an appetite alone, nor yet a combination of these, but rather an affect that is passing or tending to pass into an appetite.

If the above analysis be sound, the relations between the mental powers—thought, feeling, will, or, as I would rather say, thought, interest, will—in the processes of consciousness are obviously not as usually stated. Thus interest includes both affect and appetite. As receptive it is equivalent to affect or to feeling as ordinarily conceived by psychologists; as reactive it is equivalent to all, apart from self-determination, that is ordinarily comprised under appetite or conation or will. This both makes feeling and appetite much more nearly akin and distinguishes the latter decidedly from self-determination or will as understood here, that is, as essentially not desire or striving or purpose, but choice, decision. Again, the analysis brings appetite and reactive cognition close together—the latter, I may note, though embracing all productive thought, receives no

recognition in the usual scheme. And, if the above points be admitted, it seems to follow therefrom that exposition of psychological principles should be based not, as usually, upon the distinction of thought, feeling, will, but upon the twofold distinction of impression and self-expression and of cognition and interest, with will regarded as an intermittent feature and treated more independently and also more metaphysically.

IN connexion with the above analysis I would emphasise again the involved and intricate nature of much psychical activity; for instance, there is constant interruption of processes by new impressions and the complementary stages of processes thus interrupted may actualise later in new combinations. Similarly, one complex psychosis may be composed of many simpler psychoses of which it were best regarded as in part a series, in part an integration; indeed, each phase of a complex psychosis may include many simple psychoses—thus, in a preponderantly receptive state there may be many minor reactions. Hence, while a simple psychosis may be almost instantaneous, it is sometimes possible to regard the activity of the greater part of a lifetime as conforming in outline with the scheme given above. There is a further element of complexity in the fact that what is called expression of the emotions may also consist largely in incipient appetitions or conations having in part the character of survivals, that is, of movements no longer directly functional, but through long association so closely connected with the affects upon which they originally ensued as to be necessary often for their free and full activity. Simple cases of the kind would be clenching the fist and curling the lip, movements that, while still partly conative, have also, I should say, a certain affective quality. Such partial transference from the conative to the affective side of the process occurs even in the purely physiological accompaniments of psychical activity, as in the pallor of fear, which is radically connected with a certain withdrawal of the blood-supply to the organs of locomotion preparatory to flight. This physiological tendency and its influence upon the psychical character of affects may constitute the chief element of truth in the view that affects are only indirectly connected with experiences through the agency of physiological changes ordinarily regarded as the consequences rather than the causes of affects, the view that, as it has been put picturesquely, we fear because we flee (or rather prepare for flight), are amused because we laugh and so forth.

I SHOULD like also to subjoin here certain considerations involved in or bearing upon the above analysis, the schematic presentment of which I would ask readers to keep carefully before them. And first I would raise the point whether, apart from physiological influences—a qualification about which I am far from certain—and apart from the influence of self-determination, like receptive phases in different

persons or in the same person on different occasions do not lead necessarily, so far as alike, to like reactive phases and similarly, as regards the sub-phases, whether like experiences and like appetitions do not involve like affects and like adjustments respectively. The question about self-determination I shall return to later. Respecting physiological influence, the critical point, I should say, is whether, for instance, the physiological effects of a stimulating drink can produce directly a psychical condition of elation or whether this happens only indirectly through the influence upon the sensations and the sensible imagery, that is, upon one's experiences (in the sense of the present article). If the latter alternative be right, the direct relation between experience and affect holds without exception. The question then is first whether different persons or the same person at different times, so far as having similar experiences, would not feel similarly respecting them. Likewise of desires and self-adjustments. Of course to the objection that similar experiences affect us differently according to our mood the obvious answer is that in circumstances otherwise similar different moods involve in some measure different experiences. I would ask, similarly, whether, apart of course from the exercise and influence of self-determination, there be not always between phases as between sub-phases constituting the same phase a quantitatively and qualitatively uniform correspondence, whether, for instance, impressions of a particular character x be not always and necessarily attended with reactions of corresponding character X , though the precise nature of the correspondence may well be a matter beyond human comprehension.

THE above questions would generally, I think, be answered with a decided negative; for the prevalent belief is that to the distinguishable phases and sub-phases in a psychical process there correspond psychical powers distinct and in some degree autonomous. It is somewhat strange that the faculty-theory, which has been perhaps too summarily discarded in other aspects of psychology, should here have survived unquestioned, that thought, feeling, will (in the ordinary sense of *will* contested above) should have continued to be regarded as faculties much in the old sense and consequently as varying in their relative strength from one person to another. If, however, we consider a psychosis as consisting not in the successive activity of distinct psychical faculties, but merely in a sequence of psychical phases and sub-phases, then, I think, we must admit that the relation between these is as suggested above. That is, as far as experiences are alike, so far are affects or feelings alike; as far as appetitions or conations are alike, so far are adjustments alike; as far as impressions or receptive phases are alike, so far, apart from the intervention of an exercise of self-determination, are self-expressions or reactive phases alike. The relation perhaps is clearer respecting sub-phases than

respecting phases, but, with the above reservation concerning self-determination, I think it may hold of the latter too. Further, if these contentions be sound, then the view that states of mind, persons, classes, societies, cultures, periods may be primarily thoughtful or primarily emotional or primarily volitional cannot be justified.

I SHOULD say also that the belief in distinct faculties arises partly at least from the tendency to connect with one phase or sub-phase of our psychical activity what really belongs to another phase or sub-phase. Thus there is a tendency to locate in the affect such parts of an experience, in the above sense of receptive cognition, as on the one hand do not consist in definite imagery or ideas, while on the other hand they have marked affective consequences, for instance, the realisation of the nobility or the meanness of some action or of the happiness or the distress arising from it, of the sublimity of a landscape or the repulsiveness of pretentious buildings. Again, there is a tendency to ascribe to appetite, or will as ordinarily understood, what properly belongs to adjustment or reactive cognition, such qualities, for instance, as masterfulness and determination, which may both consist simply in the mind's firm grasp of the problem before it. This latter confusion, I think, largely underlies the distinction that is made between intellect and character when character is meant in the narrower sense of strength of character and not as an equivalent for personal morals generally. I would note too that what is ordinarily called strength of character may be merely the impression obtained from a well-integrated personality. Such integration may be the result of various causes. One important factor would certainly be the right exercise of self-determination. But in some ways integration on the whole is perhaps easier for the less richly endowed personality, and so apparent strength of character may sometimes really signify intellectual limitation. I do not mean, however, to assert that the less richly endowed are always—they may not even be usually—the more stable and better integrated. It is true on the one hand that numerous and heterogeneous elements are not easily integrated. On the other hand, in such cases not only are the advantages of integration usually more clearly realised and more aptly striven for, but the impression where integration is successfully achieved is all the greater.

It would also follow from what has been said above that to speak of a conflict between reason and feeling is absurd, since such a conflict is essentially impossible. I would suggest that the conflict is always and necessarily between feeling and feeling or, more strictly, between motive and motive, interest and interest (in the sense of the present article), that the apparent conflict between reason and feeling is best explained as the conflict between, for instance, the interest accompanying a conception of greater definiteness and the interest accompanying a conception of greater suggestiveness or again, between the interest

accompanying a weak conception, a feeble recognition of truth and the interest accompanying a robust perception, a keen sense of present actuality. An example of the latter would be the conflict between an idea of what was fair and just and an appreciation of the seductive witchery expressed in tones and looks and gestures. Apart from a self-determined choice of a perverse kind, one always, I think, acts reasonably "according to one's lights" at the moment, and so far there is more truth in Socrates' naive description of virtue as knowledge and vice as ignorance than in Plato's elaborated similitude of charioteer and steeds. People, it is true, will sometimes own to a knowledge that they are acting wrongly or foolishly; yet such an avowal, even when quite sincere, need not indicate real conviction or be anything more than, for instance, a concession to the positive strength of an actually weaker motive; indeed, where self-determination is absent it cannot be more. Should it be objected that all this is irreconcilable with the transference of affects in psychoanalytical therapeutics, then, assuming the general validity of the claims made about such treatment, I should suggest in answer that these results so obtained involve either the transference in some sense of experiences along with affects or else some such process as the creation of new experiences, to which sufficiently like affects belong. Again, it is true that a physiological organ of the emotions, but not, I believe, one of the will, has been discovered. This organ, however, is outside the cortex, in which, as the seat of consciousness, emotion must be actualised.

JUST a word now regarding self-determination. Denial that we can prefer a less attractive but more worthy alternative, that we can give effect to a motive inferior in force but superior in kind involves, I think, denial of all difference of quality in motives and consequently in reality as well. This leads to the position that pleasure is the only good, and consequently, if the views expressed above be sound, to the further position that virtue is merely knowledge in the sense of such a present realisation of the personally pleasant and unpleasant or, if such terms be too narrow, of the personally attractive and repellent consequences of action as appears to operate to the general advantage. Into the larger question of the reality of value and of differences in quality I cannot enter here, but would refer readers to a tentative and, I fear, somewhat overcondensed survey of the question in a communication of mine to the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW* (Vol. xvii, No. 1), entitled "Value and the Sufficient Reason." I would observe further that the ordinary correspondence between the receptive and the reactive phase of a psychosis may quite fail to hold good where an exercise of self-determination intervenes. What precisely is the nature of the influence of such intervention on the reactive phase is a point that I shall not now try to discuss; possibly it is in part at least the influence of a new experience involved in the effort of willing.

ACCORDING to the above theory and perhaps according to any theory of psychical activity there is very much psychical repression, deliberate or unintended, and the question arises : What happens to reactions so repressed ? Are they finally extinguished or do they obtain other and less direct vent ? To me it appears as possible that all repressed reaction does ultimately obtain expression, though often perhaps so distributed and so qualified by other reaction as to escape all conscious recognition. Most doubtful perhaps are the cases of reaction repressed through an exercise of self-determination. Here, if expression do ultimately ensue, its character may well undergo transformation, perhaps because the purifying and leavening influence of the experience involved in the repression of unsound tendencies through an act of self-determination brings about such a sublimation of those tendencies as permits of a rightful expression.

THE tripartite classification of mental powers has largely been associated with the tripartite classification of spheres of social activity as scientific (science, in this reference, including philosophy), artistic, practical. This association seems to me to involve two further errors. First, if the above contention be right, the view that science is the special sphere of thought, art of feeling, practical life of volition is necessarily wrong. But, it might be objected here, is it not generally agreed that truth appeals to reason, beauty to feeling ? In answer I would first repudiate the relation thus implied between truth and beauty. Keats has said "Beauty is truth, truth beauty." While this absolute identification cannot, I think, be justified, yet if for *truth* simply one substitutes *concrete truth* and if one takes the words in their scientific, rather than in their ordinary sense, meaning by *beauty* all æsthetic excellence and by *truth*, not truth of fact but essential truth, then the dictum, I think, is perfectly valid. It might, however, be objected further that even as thus meant not all truth is beautiful—there is essential truth in imperfection and evil, and these, as concretely existing or concretely represented, are æsthetically ugly. Here I would make two further distinctions. First, I would distinguish between actuality and truth, between the actuality and the truth of ugliness. Next, concrete truth is always beautiful when it is the whole truth ; that is, when all truth indispensably relevant to the particular theme or situation obtains proper and adequate expression. In such an æsthetic whole the imperfect and the evil, that is, the æsthetically ugly, may obtain expression, but the work of art in which they appear is not thereby rendered ugly or even less beautiful. Not that I mean to deny the reality of ugliness ; but I would maintain that the apt, truthful and correctly appraising representation, as distinguished from the bare fact, of ugliness is not ugly but beautiful in the larger sense of the word. Should it be objected here that some ugly things are properly excluded altogether from art, I would reply that this is due

to human imperfection of some kind ; for instance, to a failure to find the right characterisation or the right context and setting for such ugliness, or again to the influence of associations that, while perhaps general, are in their nature largely accidental, just as some particular accidental association may mar appreciation of a particular work of art. Respecting the other point in the supposed objection, namely, that science appeals to reason, art to feeling, I would repeat that the whole power of art as of science lies in its truth, in its representation of reality considered under the twofold aspect of essence and value, and I would hold further that science, which must here be understood in the widest sense as coextensive with abstract theoretical truth, makes, when the truth is of equal value, an emotional appeal equal to, though different from, the emotional appeal of art, that so far as the truth expressed is of equal value the working out of a mathematical problem is as really and fully emotional as the working out of a theme, with countertheme, in music. The point, I should think, might be tested experimentally with an emotion-measuring instrument. But obviously this emotional equality depends upon equality in mathematical and musical insight. I would too recall here that, according to the view expressed above, direct appeal to feeling is impossible.

IN saying that art deals with concrete truth, science with abstract truth I do not mean that this is the whole difference between them. For while there is truth that can be expressed about equally well in the concrete and in the abstract, there is truth that can be expressed more effectively in the concrete, and truth that can be expressed more effectively in the abstract, and there is also truth that can be expressed only in the concrete and truth that can be expressed only in the abstract. Much psychological and sociological truth is about equally well suited for concrete and for abstract expression. But there are aspects of truth dealt with in art that have a content too subtle for formulated expression and therefore are incapable of abstract treatment. On the other side the abstractions of pure logic and mathematics are outside the range of concrete thought and therefore of art. I should say too that there is nothing in art adequately corresponding to the purely inductive element in science. The modern preponderance of this element which, not being of the highest intrinsic value, does not make the highest emotional appeal, has probably helped to create the view that science is inferior in emotional quality.¹

NEXT, regarding the second error noted above, the tripartite division of spheres of activity is itself unsound. Properly we should begin in this matter with a dichotomy, distinguishing the spheres of theory and practice, the theoretical and the practical aspects of things, the term

¹I have tried to deal with the relation between art and science at greater length, though on lines not altogether agreeing with the above, in *MIND*, N.S., Vol. xxvii., No. 105.

theory being used here in a sense nearer the Greek than the modern sense so as to include art and science alike. The theoretical sphere is then divisible again—or this division should rather be treated as equally fundamental with the former—into the spheres of art and of science or of imagination and of reason, art or imagination dealing with truth primarily in the concrete, science or reason primarily in the abstract. In the practical sphere it is otherwise. For that demarcation of individual achievements by means of which in the theoretical sphere the discrimination and segregation of the reasoning and imaginative activities and of the work proper to each, that is, of science and art, has been gradually realised is impossible in the practical sphere and hence in the latter there has been no corresponding differentiation. Consequently, in practical matters still, as in theoretical matters originally, neither predominantly ratiocinative nor predominantly imaginative persons but those most fully endowed with a combination of both aptitudes would usually be most efficient. In fact in the practical compared with the theoretical sphere specialisation of activities has proceeded, I should say, on the lines less of special aptitudes than of special combinations of aptitudes. Regarding, however, the progressive differentiation of social functions and activities, in theoretical and in practical matters alike, it seems to me that such tendencies may be characteristic not of civilisation itself, but only of an earlier or analytic phase already perhaps approaching exhaustion, while in the complementary or synthetic phase reassimilating tendencies already incipient may prevail increasingly.³

THE great distinction between the theoretical or art-and-science sphere and the practical sphere is, I should say, that the one is concerned primarily with truths or universals, whether regarded abstractly as in science or concretely as in art, the other primarily either with particulars (facts) or with limited generalities not far removed from such particulars—as in the saws and maxims of professional experience—and usually conceived in mixed, partly abstract, partly concrete, fashion. Hence the essential qualification tends to be in the theoretical sphere insight regarding some aspect of truth or reality as such, in the practical sphere insight into the nature or character whether of particular entities, as persons, societies, institutions, or, with lower grades of existence, animate and inanimate, of particular kinds and varieties, especially when considered in respect of particular uses and relations. Thus, in respect of social entities, the sociologist should understand the nature of political institutions generally, the statesman that of the political institutions of his own country and time. Knowledge of the former kind is, I should say, much more concerned with essential values. Again, theoretical insight finds its natural completion and

³ I have argued for this view of cultural development in an article entitled "Spencer, Darwin and the Evolution Hypothesis," *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*, Vol. xvii., No. 1.

consummation in the artistic expression or scientific exposition of truth, the artistic representation or scientific characterisation of reality, practical insight in the moulding of actuality on the lines of the best combination of desirable and possible. Further, theoretical truth may not be of direct use, that is of direct relative-value nor is practical truth necessarily of direct absolute-value. History, I may add, if the term be understood in the very widest sense so as to include the record and appraisalment of all ascertainable entities and events past and present, from cosmic to social, is intermediate between theory and practice, dealing with actualities partly in their universal, partly in their particular aspect, partly for theoretical, partly for practical purposes. Should it be objected regarding the above distinctions that the creations of art are more thoroughly particularised than the actualities of practical life, I would reply by distinguishing between particularity and intensity; artistic creations, it seems to me, while less particularised, may have greater intensity in that the connexion between their parts belongs to the deeper truth of things; it is in this sense that, let us say, the character of Falstaff is truer and more lifelike than the characters of most actual persons. It might, however, be argued for the tripartite division that science is concerned with the abstract, practical activity with the concrete, art with the abstract-concrete, that in art there is a fusion of generality, on this view always abstract, and particularity, on this view always concrete.

LASTLY, a few words respecting intuition. This is usually distinguished from reason, whereas the right distinction, I should say, is, as contended above, between reason or abstract thought and imagination or concrete thought, both of which may function either intuitively or by degrees. Reason acts intuitively when an abstract truth is discerned or a hypothesis conceived "in a flash." Such experiences, however, as being intuitive in character, have been regarded as therefore imaginative and this has given occasion for much questionable talk about the "scientific imagination" and the use of imagination in science.³ Conversely, imagination is not necessarily intuitive; a work of art may be created gradually and progressively.

P. J. HUGHESDON.

³ There is, I would suggest, strictly no such thing as scientific imagination, though imagination, artistic or practical, may in various ways be helpful to Science.

THE MOVEMENT TOWARDS SYNTHETIC STUDIES, AND ITS EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL BEARINGS.*

WITH the encouraging spread of the Regional Survey movement, not only over the British Isles, but also on the continent and in America, there are, of course, innumerable differences manifest; and these not only in local character, but in the methods and approach of the respective surveyors. The question thus arises of reaching some common understanding and agreement as to methods. How shall we make our surveys more and more complete? How compare and correlate them, even generalise them, as far as may be? Again, how are our surveys to be utilised towards applications in real life?

LET us begin with what we most readily agree about. Surely first of all this, that our view of our region as we actually see it from our hill-top or its outlook tower, is conveniently analysable into three main groups; physical, organic and social. First we see with the physical geographers and geologists; and we may sometimes carry these into further detail of observation or interpretation. And similarly with and for our regional meteorology. We next pass to the living world; and here are surveys are not only floristic and faunistic as of old, but also ecological. We inherit and complete the herbaria and floras, the museum collections and catalogues of the past; yet we now see all these forms of life no longer as separate and individual, but as actors of an organic drama, with many scenes: and these in contemporaneous as well as successive progress, as from mountain to moorland, down to sand-dunes and sea-cliffs, and each with its seasonal change.

IN this renewed study of vegetation we utilise our knowledge of weather and climate; and we also more and more fully enquire into the nature and influence of our regional soils. With all this too, our study of the animal world is associated, and again no longer in terms of systematic enumerations, but as actively participant in the ecologic season-drama. In every way then, our view of Nature now ranges far beyond that close observation of foreground detail, to which our studies were at first limited. For now all its inorganic conditions, and its organic factors with them, are seen combined into the general landscape, and viewed as our locally characteristic drama of organic nature upon its physical stage. The simplest breath of air, the drop of water, the grain of soil, now show us that perpetual interaction of environment and organism which we call Life.

*This address of Professor Geddes to the Regional Survey Section of the South-Eastern Union of Scientific Societies is printed in the proceedings of that body; and by the courtesy of its Editor and Council, we here give the address a further audience.

ALL this is becoming obvious to the naturalist ; yet our progress is still far from being as complete as it might be. From collecting and dissecting specimens with the beginner to understanding their larger interest and significance is a progress like that from the minutely detailed Dutch painters of still life, or the pre-Raphaelites with their foreground detail, to those of great landscape, as from Constable and Turner to the Impressionists. Yet in science we must always be able to return to the details ; and this with fuller appreciation, since with more understanding. Thus the "rare" plant or animal, at first a mere curiosity and treasure, is ever being interpreted to us by the paleontologist—who is now also the up-to-date distributionist—as either as on the way to extinction (in our region at least), or else on the way of entry to our region, and towards possible successful increase. In each case, our empiric fact gains its eco-dramatic explanation, sometimes fairly obvious yet often needing to be sought for.

IN such ways then our naturalistic survey is growing more complete ; and it thus yields us a satisfaction and unity of its own, in a view of Nature in which we take refuge from our human world, and even from ourselves. Yet continued isolation is after all impracticable : for among the vast range and variety of our island landscapes, it is hard to find any unaffected by man. Our primitive forest has practically vanished ; and our moorland wastes, at and below forest level, are mainly disforested, and this largely—if not altogether—by human agency. Our agricultural regions at their best are wellnigh as artificial as our gardens ; and even along the sea-shore we find more effects of human agency than at first appear.

ALIKE in our local surveys and in our world-views, we have to distinguish the cosmic and the human factors. The dessication of Asia and of the Sahara, in short, the main evolution of the desert, appears mainly as a geological process ; yet the disforestation of the Mediterranean countries, as from Spain to Syria, and the agricultural—and other—decline and fall which have so largely been the consequences of this, have been mainly caused by human agencies. Hence we have a view deeply pessimistic, of a drying world, with man as a destructive agent, so far, more than a constructive one.

THUS even as naturalists we are compelled to pass to a human survey, for in Nature we cannot ignore its dominant species. This fully naturalistic approach, as including the human, has thus its value and significance throughout the study of what we have too simply called the world of nature. It is also a needed complement of humanistic studies ; for with every respect for Gibbon, as a master among historians, his work has none the less to be re-read, and its conclusions qualified in this naturalistic-human aspect. Witness the re-interpretation of the DECLINE AND FALL in terms no longer merely of human

change and strifes, but also of disforestation, so well evidenced in Marsh's *EARTH AND MAN* ; yet all this again within the largest cosmic perspective, in that conception of the gradual dessication of our planet, to which the works of Huntingdon are the latest and fullest contribution.

FOR understanding the nature-drama in its interaction with human life, we thus need keen and close survey of our own species ; and this not merely in terms of ethnography, but above all of man's ecology, in short, his occupations. Just as our naturalistic approach is needed to complete and correct that of the historian, so must our naturalistic ecology of man deal faithfully with our current urban and academic economics. The economist indeed, has been wont to start with an outline of man's ways as hunting, pastoral or agricultural, but too much as if these were but successive preliminary stages to his present urban industry and commerce ; whereas we have to go far more fully and thoroughly, region by region, into his past and present occupational activity. Though Sociology arose, with Comte and his immediate successors, as a study of Western civilisation in its cultural history, vast new fields, of comparative anthropology and archaeology, have since opened. Hence, no longer content with tracing modern Paris and London back to Rome, Athens and Jerusalem, we are now puzzling over all we can find of man's ways and doings. Naturalistic humanism and humanistic naturalism are thus increasingly at one. We see our place conditioning its people, yet even these simple people increasingly mastering their place. So in this connection a word may be said of invitation to naturalists of survey interests to take an active part in the autumn and spring meetings of our Vacation School of Archaeology at Les Eyzies and of Regional Geography along the Dordogne, so admirably conducted by MM. Peyrony and Reclus respectively, who thus offer the most comprehensive and rapid initiation as yet obtainable ; and which may readily develop as a training centre for archaeologists from other regions and for other countries, and one suggestive to regional geographers and historians too.

THE Boy Scout movement—and perhaps still more its later developments, like "Woodcraft Chivalry" and "Kibbo Kift"—offers nothing short of a renewal of education ; for the recapitulation of ancestral history is no mere doctrine of animal embryology, but claims its fullest application in human life and to human minds throughout their growth. The importance of occupational studies has been specially emphasised by Frédéric Le Play, and his later school headed by Tourville and Demolins in the review *LA SCIENCE SOCIALE*, yet all this still awaits fuller regional application and further development both in general and in detail. From simplest scout rambles to fullest surveys is thus a continuous progress, only now becoming realised, in education.

SEE too how the past may survive into the present ! At Brandon in Essex, its chipped flint trade has been continuous with the prehistoric past, while even the surviving technical vocabulary of its craft seems to antedate all known language origins. Its industry too, was probably never more active than in the nineteenth century, since providing flints for Mediterranean fire-strikers and also for muskets in Africa. In this connection too, yet as ranging widely over the folk-ways and traditions of this country, may here be recommended Sir Arthur Mitchell's complementary volumes *THE PAST IN THE PRESENT* and *THE PRESENT IN THE PAST*.

YET progress also needs its fullest possible exposition. See in our cavern sections, as so notably around Les Eyzies, the marvellously complete succession of implements, on the whole in progress though sometimes in deterioration, and we thence come up to the Bronze Age and next to our comparatively recent history of iron and steel. Hence the most vivid means of classifying and naming the phases of progress and civilisation arises from the Flint Ages and with the distinction of these as palaeolithic and neolithic, of course each with their minor periods ; and again by tracing the use of metals, as from gold and copper to bronze, to iron and to steel, and now through the whole repertory of metallurgy, and chemistry also, as to radium. Yet after all, man did not live by flint or metals alone. His main sustenance, and corresponding progress, are from his earliest life as miscellaneous " Gatherer " of anything and everything at all eatable, whether of plant or animal origin. How beyond this arose the ways and doings of the mighty hunters of the Stone Age, how those survive in the sporting interests of modern society ; how shepherding and fishing industries have respectively developed, and so on, are thus fascinating enquiries, still incomplete ; yet becoming clearer, as notably when we enquire into the activities of woman in early societies (see Mason, *WOMAN AS INVENTOR*, etc.).

AMONG the current and recently traditional views of society, one of the most frequent and emphatic is that human nature is essentially combative, so that war is inherent in human society. Yet this popular and apparently still predominant view is but pseudo-science ; for the very reverse is now increasingly manifest throughout the wide fields of anthropology and archaeology. Yet just as most would-be " progressive " women remain ignorant of their high initiatives in the anthropological past, so our contemporary pacifists, from Peace Conference to the League of Nations itself, have never yet laid hold of the great naturalistic and human fact, that though war is essentially man-hunting, simple hunters are not necessarily or even usually warlike ; for this we plainly see, from Australian hunters to Alaskan, or again throughout their and our archaeologic past. But if so, war has to be

re-interpreted, and this in terms of comparatively recent historic evolution, in fact as in the main the increasing product of recent mechanistic civilisation ; and it is this which history, living memory and contemporary experience alike show.

We are still but at the beginning of our occupational studies ; for we might next trace out the origins of all the thousands of occupations of the London Directory, as arising from the simple types of life and labour in the rural world. Return however to War. The hunter, as above noted, may indeed develop to manhunter, and thus to warrior ; he has then combined with woodman and with miner to weapon-making, and he has built with one or other of them his defensive stockade or wall : and again he has utilised their respective contributions, as of charcoal, and of sulphur and saltpetre, towards the war-central invention of gunpowder. Through war organisation and conquest he attains authority and rule ; and though his influence and significance as War-Lord have been mainly on the temporal aspects of life, there are grounds also for crediting him with no small share in evoking and maintaining the vast webs of superstitions and death-fantasies, which have contaminated religions, and so much projected their vital ideals into post-mortem dreams.

PASS however to the shepherd, with his normally gentle and peaceful life. Yet also note its element of nomadism, at times rising to folk-wanderings and conquests. See too, his caravans, which have been so essentially originative of land-routes for trade, and which have thus prepared for our modern world of mechanical communications. As we have just seen other occupations developing their characteristic ideas and ideals, so pre-eminently does the pastoral life evoke the "good shepherd," with his habits of care of life ripening also towards moral guidance, and these more or less developed in great religions ; so that Mohammed expressed the discipline of the caravan, and St. Paul's career and widespread missions have like origins, and even much of the same spirit. The pastoral life too, as free from excessive toil, is favourable to reflection and to poesy, while its long lived elders have a wealth of memory and tradition to communicate. Woman too, has no longer the drudgery of the hunting life, but the gentler arts connected with milk and wool ; and thus she becomes the cloistered lady of the tent, with her cushions and carpets, embroideries and jewels. In such ways then, we see origins of our modern occupational complex, and work towards its interpretation by the help of earlier and simpler societies. And next we find these occupational interpretations applicable on a large scale throughout the history of East and West alike.

PASS now to the poor peasant. That is not the English labourer, nor the Scottish ploughman ; but that old-world and too rarely surviving

small-holder, whom we call crofter in the Highlands. He occupies the barer land, the roughly cultivable and oat-bearing slopes between the upland pastures and the plain with its deep ploughland on which flourishes the rich peasant; that is the farmer, with his wheaten bread, his butter and cheese, and barley beer. The upland croft involves a life of continuous toil, for its reclamation and even for its maintenance, far beyond that of the shepherd. His pasture and flowers, his "land of milk and honey," here gives place to that of struggle with thorns and thistles: it is also just at this cultivation edge that the apple comes into his view: so we have thus a very concrete reading of the oldest of Bible stories. Here, in fact, we have another example of the way in which our survey methods often throw fresh light on literary and humanistic studies, so long pursued apart from our present open air realism. Take the well-known verse of a psalm constantly chanted and sung throughout the Christian as well as the Jewish world:—"They that sow in tears shall reap in joy. He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him." Everyone understands quite literally this rejoicing of harvest; but how explain the weeping sower? Here both Christian and Jewish commentators make suggestions, ingenious but unsatisfactory, since apart from that occupational realism which for harvest is so obvious. Keeping however to this, note that early culture could not often produce enough food for the year, so that Lent arose as a time of economic hardship with social discipline, which religion further sought to regulate. See then this verse in its homely detail: that of the poor peasant, who cannot but take away the last of the grain from his starving children and their weeping mother, yet when he has left them to cast the little store over the field, his stern face also breaks down into tears. Simple and vivid interpretations like this appear over the whole range of occupations, from mountain to sea, and next they come together, and towards that re-reading of history from the evolutionary standpoint, which our social surveys are only beginning to realise. The poor peasant and his yet more thrifty wife, with their longer northern and upland winters, are compelled to more economy, foresight and saving than the inhabitants of the gentler climate and better soil below: so hence we understand how from the poor peasant more than from the rich have come the Banks and Insurance Companies, which this social type has so largely initiated. Proximity to the shepherd with resultant exchanges, as of corn for wool and cheese, has also introduced these poor peasants to trade, and fitted them for it. Their surplus population also is pressed downhill and into the wide world, and through its training, at once strenuous, frugal and provident, it succeeds exceptionally. Hence the frequent rise of men of this formation—Swiss, Welsh or Scots for familiar choice—and thus the great trade enterprises, the vast developments of communications like those of Lords Mountstephen and

Strathcona in Canada in the last generation, are but salient examples of such developments from their Highland crofts and village.

THE interlinking frontier of pasture and oatfield, which unites as well as separates the shepherd and crofter, is also of high cultural impulse : witness their wealth of regional song and story, of music and dance ; and indeed their turn for serious thought as well ; as notably religious, moral, and in these times also increasingly scientific and social.

BUT it is time now to descend the valley, from crofter to farmer, from poor peasant to rich. Here are ampler crops and better cattle, stronger horses and finer too : and with all this a normal surplus, for better dwellings, with pleasing gardens, for finer churches, in short, for well-to-do villages and wealthy market towns. The surplus also largely froths into ale, so with its stimulus to social intercourse and discussion the " public-house " positively and increasingly deserves its name. In the larger city, above all in the metropolis, the pubs. segregate to clubs ; and these tend and train their members to political power, till their debates and strifes consummate, in super-club, as Parliament. Hence it is more than a mere popular jest that this important line of social and constitutional evolution had been largely aided, even developed, along with the art of brewing ; and this even for external as well as internal politics, since northern beer has ever had patriotic rivalry with southern wine.

AGAIN see how the profession of the Law has arisen—fundamentally from the folk-ways of farmer peoples, with their obvious needs of secure tenure, with their long time bargains, etc., and these all requiring written records which mature as contracts, enforceable by the elders in court assembled. The interconnections of this legal line of political evolution with the more simple agricultural and social developments above outlined, are still too little discussed by their historians : but are they not needed to understand them ?

PASS now to the gardener. There are reasons for tracing all agriculture to primitive gardening, as from the first sporadic growth of useful plants in the well-manured neighbourhood of primitive caverns. Here note Karl Pearson's admirable studies for early societies in his CHANCES OF DEATH, as for instance the interpretation of the old German word for bachelor—" Hagedorn," *i.e.*, Hedgethorn or Shillelagh—the term derived from the hedge of the woman's garden, and applied to the youth ready and able to defend it.

How this primitive garden on the one side developed into fields and farms, and on the other, intensified into fruit cultures with vegetables in their shade, is a history not yet fully made out. For all our cultivated plants, like our domesticated animals, are prehistoric. But if so,

throughout the long peaceful—and thus unrecorded—ages of patient culture and selection needed to produce these cultivated farms, we have here a very different picture of early humanity from that of recent tradition, as in poor and low conditions, with existence “nasty, brutish and short.” Here is, on the contrary, a vision even more inspiring in its way than that of the “good shepherd,” since leading us back anew to a veritable Paradise garden; with man and woman cultivating its plants and domesticating its animals with no little skill and success, in obedience to the laws of life; in fact with early societies conducting this process of evolution, through breeding and selection, as only our few foremost are again beginning to do.

AFTER descending sunwards, from poor to finer cereals, we come next to the exuberant fruit of the vine, the joyous juice of the grape; and beyond this again to the olive tree, central to Mediterranean and warm temperate civilisations; and, for more reasons than we have here space to elaborate, the distinctive meeting-point of peaceful culture in its literal sense with culture and peace in their highest.

SEE finally on lower and warmer levels, the date palm with its ample and delicious fruit, obtained with minimum weariness of toil, yet through faithful care withal; and so yielding high symbolisms of success in life's struggle: on one side for temporal victory, and on the other for spiritual. Thus our study of occupations—at once simple, homely and realistic, yet hence evolutionary—is widely reinterpreting human life; and this from earliest beginnings in labour and life to the highest outcomes. So if these be now understood as normally arising in past societies at their best, why not again something of the like in future society, if we can again normalise it? Such normalising endeavours are increasingly manifest in education. Thus the too mechanical and formal “technical education” of the cities is now being revitalised, first from its earliest beginnings, in Kindergarten and onwards; and also as notably by the simple occupational impulses and endeavours of the Scout movement in its various forms. These are still somewhat too simply based upon wild nature experience, and on the recovery of something of the roaming life; yet are also in increasing progress towards the recapitulation of the essentials of the fundamental occupations. This in fact will soon be seen as a main hope of renewal for education, from its present verbalistic empaperments, and its examinational stresses and strains. Regional Geography and its associated occupational activities and types of society, have thus to be taken along with archaeology, anthropology and history: and we thus come to clear recognition of past social phases, and of these as yielding interpretations of our social life, even up to this day. But if so, our local history is far more significant than the great cities have yet seen; for even our small local survivals, be they Prehistoric or Historic—say

Roman or Mediæval, Renaissance or more recent—are just as instructive and characteristic for history as are our local strata and their outcrops for geology and geography. That superior metropolitan attitude, both popular and administrative, which reduces the regional water supply to "parish pump," and similarly belittles other rural affairs, is thus that perfection of ignorance, which rises to vanity of it. As we go on with our survey, our local history is manifest in open-air observation and experience, just as is our geography and natural history, and thus it escapes from the dull book world, still so customary and official. Yet the books, of course, now become far more useful and interesting, in their subordinate way, as suggestive guide-books to our real world. As our surveys advance, we are at home in our region, and throughout its space and time up to the present: but if so, this past and present cannot but open out into the possible. For it is our survey of things as they are—that is, as they have become—that must ever suggest ideas as to their further becoming, *i.e.*, their various possibilities. In this way, our surveys, beyond their purely scientific interest, are seen as also of practical interest; in a word, a Survey prepares for and points to a Report. How shall we develop our countryside, and how shall we plan our town? How continue the best of what we find in our local historic evolution? These enquiries are obviously rational; and hopeful as well.

ALL through the preceding discussion we have seen our survey methods yielding different viewpoints and perspectives from customary ones: but now in summary more than ever. For as yet local, civic and political action have been too little concerned with surveys of this comprehensive kind: for these are in fact, but the initiative endeavours of regionalist geographers on the one hand, and of town-planners on the other. Yet even these have not fully grasped the importance of their work, in its vital bearings; on the one hand, on the education of each and every community, and on the other, to its better organisation; and this material and economic on one side, social and cultural on the other. Yet, as on the synthetic side, our surveys are bringing all our specialised studies together, so obviously, on the practical side, they suggest possibilities of social service; and these throughout civic and individual co-operation. They thus involve at once the conservation and the development of all we can find as best in our regions and cities, and this also with the more and more efficient diagnosis and treatment of their respective evils.

IN short, we have here before us at once a scientific and a practical movement. Our otherwise dispersive and unrelated specialisms are being co-ordinated, and all towards synthetic vision and unified evolutionary understanding, region by region: and similarly our multifarious division of labour is being harmonised and orchestrated

towards the common weal. Our survey endeavours of our region are at once searching out its naturalistic and its humanistic origins ; and with better interpretations of each in the present accordingly. Thus we see possibilities, among which we have to sort out the best. Our movement is thus extending to the largest possible scope and aims—synthetic, synergic, and sympathetic.

SUCH surveys are at first dispassionately scientific, in which our endeavour is first to "see the thing as it is" and next, co-ordinate it with other things ; until we reach a mental picture of each of our regions and communities, in all the elaborations of their place, work, people, throughout the past, and in their present, in all of which good and evil are strangely intermingled. Yet our science cannot but point to action, our diagnosis to treatment. With fuller knowledge than heretofore, social action thus tends to be more sure and skilled accordingly.

WITH this clearer vision, we may thus hope and strive anew to overcome and dissipate evils, sometimes even transmute them to ideals ; as from war with its eagles and vultures to reconstruction with its phoenix, and from fear, hate and cynical despair, to social ideals from homeliest to highest, with their doves. Our life, both social and individual, may thus be further civilised and developed ; and this as we utilise all that is best in our past history and apply it towards yet higher phases of social activity. From understanding our regions and cities, we cannot but come to vitalising and evolving them, in place, work and people ; and with their own people making the best of their place. Thus Holland has made the Dutch, yet the Dutch have made Holland, and this in alternation and harmony throughout the generations. In short then, our geographic and historic surveys are increasingly yielding us a philosophy, an ethics, and a policy of social life, in which all that is best in the various divergent schools of thought and action may increasingly work together.

THERE are, of course, not a few other approaches to synthetic studies ; and it is well to try them, since each has its value. Yet in the writer's life-experience of such teaching and exposition, the methods here indicated have proved most widely interesting, and most frequently encouraging to further studies.

P. GRDDES.

THE MOBILITY OF LABOUR IN LIVERPOOL INDUSTRY:
the original survey by Mr. C. J. Robertson, M.A., Liverpool
University Settlement Research Fellow, 1923-4: Editing by
Ernest S. Griffith, D.Phil., Warden, University Settlement.

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Only those of Mr Robertson's findings likely to prove of general interest are included below. The complete study is available in manuscript on application to the Warden of the Settlement. It includes much detail concerning emigration schemes, exchange organization, labour conditions, &c.)

I. INTRODUCTORY.

It has been a matter of general impression rather than of accurate knowledge that men find extreme difficulty in changing their occupation even in normal times. Data dealing with variations and factors in such difficulty have been rare. Yet such data are likely to prove of considerable importance in estimating the value of solutions of problems of vocational guidance, emigration, and unemployment arising from a long-continued depression in a particular industry. Mobility of labour is an essential factor in industrial re-adjustment.

THE present enquiry is confined to Liverpool, but the personal factors in industrial mobility are probably not affected greatly by local variations, at least within Great Britain. Furthermore, Liverpool industry is sufficiently diversified to make material gathered there of reasonably general validity.

THE study of employment movements has been limited to the section of the occupied male population which utilises the Labour Exchange. It is likely that almost all members of insured trades attend the exchanges when out of work in order to obtain payment of benefit. There are no outstanding uninsured occupations to be reckoned with. The reliability of the information varies according to the type of labour. The exchanges in Liverpool specialise on particular types. The following were visited:—

Leece Street	Artisans and artisans' labourers, clerical workers and salesmen.
Lime Street	General labourers and transport workers.
Canning Place	Seamen.
Clearing Houses	Dockers.

AT the last two the information is most reliable because the mechanism provides safeguards against inaccuracy. In comparing Leece Street and Lime Street, one notes that the former deals with a more intelligent type of labour, and hence one more likely to complete the requisite papers with accuracy. The papers from which most information has been abstracted are those drawn up with a view to ascertaining the industrial history of the men applying for "uncovenanted benefit." These applicants are at the point where mal-adjustment in industry is most acute.

It follows that if an industry or trade was prosperous throughout the depression it would not be prominent among these papers. But there is no instance of this in Liverpool, and the study of claims papers dealing with both covenanted and uncovenanted benefit confirms the supposition that we are deriving a fair impression of the industry of Liverpool from the latter class of papers.

THE chief feature is the casual nature of so much of the labour. This characteristic by its reflection in wages, standard of living, and industrial morale permeates the whole field of the labour problem. It interacts with an apparent low standard of physical fitness, and forms a vicious circle. It dominates the employment problem in Liverpool, and is reflected in most of what follows.

II. DOCK LABOUR.

IN Liverpool (1921) out of a total occupied population (12 and over) of 247,249 males, 17,027 were general dockers, while in Bootle the number of dock labourers was 2,881. Besides these, there were a number of specialised workers, such as coal heavers and stevedores. To these should also be added the number of men who are engaged casually in dock labour.

THE composition of the labour supply at the docks may be briefly summarised.

It consists of (1) holders of clearing house tallies; (2) men without C.H. tallies, usually employed by companies outside the scheme; (3) temporary dockers who may pick up a job for only a few half days in the year. Of the 30,000 dockers estimated to work on Merseyside, about 20,000 are registered under the clearing house scheme.

IN the case of men employed by firms outside the scheme there is also a nucleus of practically permanent men who are selected by the foremen at the stands whenever any work is to be done. But these companies also employ some of the floating reserve whenever there is more work than can be done by their own nucleus of "followers." It is this third class of dock labour that is largely responsible for such inter-industrial mobility as remains among dockers. The union is now stemming the influx of members. The fact that there is an entrance fee of £1 os. 4d. is, in itself, a fairly effective barrier.

THE study of the records of the men attending employment exchanges indicates very few (except seamen) for whom the docks have been a "standby." Among 1,000 cases taken at random at the Lime Street (general labour and transport) Exchange, only 30 (or 3 per cent.) among this relatively casual group revealed such temporary occupation at the docks during the three years 1921-23. On the other hand, the seaman (*see below*) finds such alternative occupation relatively easier, because of his experience of rigging.

MOVEMENT away from the docks is likewise small. Out of 222 non-tally holders studied, only 20 (or 9 per cent.) were in the habit of going to sea, although sea going is one of the principal alternative occupations of the docker. With regard to tally holders, the complete records of two clearing houses were studied for the eighteen months, July, 1922, to December, 1923. In one area, out of an average total number of 3,000, only 36 (about 1 per cent.) lodged their tallies permanently. During the same period, 79 (about 2½ per cent.) who had formerly lodged their tallies in order to take up an alternative occupation, appealed for their return. Of these, over half (41) had been to sea, mostly as firemen. 19 had been ordinary labourers. The others were scattered among occupations, generally unskilled. In the other area there were 267 such appeals out of a total of 6,000. Of these, 85 had been to sea, in this case mostly as A.B.'s. 98 had been ordinary labourers. Hence the ratio in the two areas together is about 1 to 26. Over half of the seamen had been employed for less than three months before making an appeal.

THE fact of specialisation within the docks should be borne in mind in considering the problem of inter-dock mobility. There is the dual specialisation dependent both on class of cargo and on the particular function in loading or unloading. The cargo passes successively through the hands of "breakers out," hatchmen and winchmen, shipmen (i.e. the "docker" in the specific sense) and quay porters. Besides these there are the checkers in the hold and on the pier. All these involve such skill as is gained by long experience in manual labour, but in none is their skill amounting to that of the stevedore who stores the cargo in the hold and is a semi-skilled labourer. In unloading, the men on the dock are the keymen; the others are relatively less skilled. In most of the large classes of cargo there are men who work in that alone—as fruit, cotton, coal, cork, timber, grain. This custom, based partly on habit and partly on specialised skill, is the cause of much of the surplus labour at the docks—since many men obtain comparatively steady work only during certain months and merely hang on during the rest of the year.

AMONGST the tally holders—20,000 in number—about 5,000 are reckoned to be out of work each week, but not the *same* 5,000 every week. The clearing house system spreads the unemployment fairly equally. In any case the docker has an advantage in one way over the "town man" in that, during the depression, he is not unemployed over long stretches, but does get a day's work now and again.

SCALING is a branch of dock labour that has only a small nucleus of permanent men. The work is of a degrading nature and is usually taken by the man who is "down and out." Not only is it the worst job at the docks, but it is the worst paid, the wages being only 7s. or

8s. a day. The employment varies usually from one to four days a week. Amongst 18 cases of men who never got even a day's work, 15 were scalers and 3 general labourers. Most of these men were over 45, and usually had been so long out of work that they were not entitled to any benefit whatever, but for the satisfaction of the guardians they attended regularly to hand in their cards to be stamped.

THE entry of juveniles at the docks usually occurs after leaving blind alley situations, as the work is much too heavy for boys. The lower limit of age is nominally 18. The juvenile employment committees have made it part of their policy to discourage boys going into casual work, but usually the boy passes out of their influence when he reaches the age at which (after a succession of uneducative and stagnant situations) he is likely to enter the ranks of the casual dockers.

III. EMPLOYMENT AT SEA.

ACCORDING to the census of 1921, there were in Liverpool, approximately 15,000 seamen, and in Bootle, another 2,300. These figures include petty officers, ordinary seamen and deckhands, firemen, &c., and pursers and stewards. The administration of the exchange system in respect to seafarers is separate. For this purpose there is a Seaman's Exchange in Canning Place, which is the hub of the Liverpool seafaring world.

FROM the records of the exchange, the industrial histories of 200 men for the years 1919 to 1922 was studied. These were in each instance, men who had made claims for uncovenanted benefit. Particular attention was paid to the extent of mobility between seafaring and land employments. 61 out of the 200 (or 30.5 per cent.) showed such movement.

THE result obtained by questioning a representative group of seafaring men showed that 19 out of 68 (or 36.7 per cent.) had taken up seafaring after the age of 18. The claims cards (U.180) of another 200 men were also examined, as indicating alternative occupations. 77 (or 38.5 per cent.) gave some land employment as an alternative. The claims card is filled in by questioning the man as to his experience, and is usually coincident with his own opinion of possibilities. The close correspondence between the figures is remarkable.

THE analysis of the occupations left by 75 men on going to sea and of the occupations entered by 55 men on giving up seafaring shows that casual labour [especially general labour (37), scalers (11), dockers (12), and carters (8)] forms the principal reservoir from which seafarers are drawn. There were 8 warehousemen or storekeepers, but only 4 clerks, 2 shop assistants, and no skilled artisans from the building trades. 6 artisans, largely from the engineering trades, showed the

influence of industrial depression. There is, however, a high sea-land mobility among cooks, stewards, and waiters, and to a less extent, among firemen, greasers, and trimmers.

THE ages of the men leaving land employment in this way show that out of 32 cases questioned, 14 were 25 or under, and 18 were 30 or under. From the written records for 1919-22, out of 79 cases, 48 went to sea at 25 or under, 59 at 30 or under. Before making the change, 30 out of 50 had had under 5 months unemployment, so that prolonged unemployment does not seem a predominant reason for a man's taking to a seafaring life.

THE evidence goes to show that men have been attracted to the sea as a possible road to employment during depression, especially since there is practically no chance of getting work at the docks for such outsiders. There has followed unprecedented surplus of labour endeavouring to secure employment at sea. In consequence union restrictions are being more rigidly enforced and first trippers find it difficult to get in touch with officials. Such men as get a first trip come with recommendations, and young men are preferred. Another more rigidly enforced rule is that of the possession of life-boat certificates. Engagements are made at the marine depots of the firms. It is customary now to follow one firm, and much depends on the luck at the stands.

It has already been indicated how common it is for certain classes of dock labour to "follow the sea" for a few weeks now and again. But getting a "jump" to the sea is more difficult nowadays. The ages of the men attending the exchange showed that 21-30 formed, by far, the chief group. On the other hand, out of the 1,000 cases examined at Lime Street Exchange (labour, except dockers) only 9 record on the written form that they have had employment at sea, and oral opinion there, in general, is that it is very difficult to get to sea.

ON the other hand, there is increased difficulty in seamen obtaining employment on shore. Some say there is prejudice against seamen, but the general depression suffices to explain the situation. When a situation does arise, the "old hand" naturally gets preference over the man who has been to sea and has probably lost touch with whatever trade knowledge he may have had previously.

As to mobility there is a balance of movement from land to sea employment. This is encouraged by the restrictions on dock employment, but discouraged by the tightening up of union rules. The type of man who is found on the margin of this kind of employment is more specialised, too, than is found in similar positions elsewhere in the range of semi-skilled labour.

IV. GENERAL LABOUR AND OTHER TRANSPORT WORKERS.

IN studying this class of labour (as in the others) reliance has been placed, principally, on the forms (U.I.563) completed by men claiming uncovenanted benefit. Out of 1,000 cases taken as a sample, 400 indicated movement to another type of labour. The general percentage here then is 40 per cent.—a figure not far removed from that obtained in the case of seamen only.

THE largest class is the general labourer, who occupies temporary positions in the lower grades of many industries, and is alternately out and in as trade fluctuates, even within a particular industry. If he leaves general labour, it is usually to become a carter for a time or to try his luck at the docks, or to take the chance of a corporation job. General figures are obviously the inverse of those given in the case of dockers and seamen, but a few samples of the careers of men, now between 40 and 50, according to the accounts given by them orally, may illustrate this more vividly :—

- (1) Corporation labourer—Mersey Dock and Harbour Board—corporation labourer—labour with Board of Guardians—carter—trimmer—scaler.
- (2) Builders' labourer—seamen—second man.
- (3) Labourer (same firm for 20 years.)
- (4) Porter—labourer.
- (5) Labourer—warehousemen—corporation attendant.
- (6) Barman—labourer.
- (7) Carter—labourer—sea—shore gang.
- (8) Builders' labourer—coal yard—shopman—carter.
- (9) Coal yard—builders' labourer—coal—provision carter.
- (10) Shop man—mattress work—sugar refining—warehouseman.
- (11) Van boy—labourer—warehouseman.
- (12) Collier—biscuit factory—carter.
- (13) Messenger—painter—labourer.

AFTER the general labourers, the carter is the most numerous class. At the 1921 Census the number of males of 12 and over, registered as engaged in road transport in Liverpool, was 17,865, of whom 8,334 were drivers of horse lorries and vans. Besides the men regularly engaged, there is an increasing number of casuals, who have been, in the past few years, more out of work than in. The method of engagement is just as casual as at the docks, and there is no clearing house scheme. Since the restrictions on entrance to employment at the docks have begun to operate, the carting and other trades where casual methods of engagements are in force, have been in danger of being swamped by a large surplus. In the absence of any regulation of engagements, this floating surplus will probably

increase. The warehouse porters and certain classes of temporary railway employees stand in similar danger. Such conditions emphasise the need of considering the industrial position of a community as a whole, rather than piecemeal—particularly in dealing with questions of decasualization or vocational guidance.

V. THE SKILLED WORKER.

IN contrast with an unskilled worker the movement of an artisan from one trade to another is rare. In the first place he is specialised and tends to become more so; and his accumulated skill along particular lines makes it more difficult for him to change his occupation under the pressure of unemployment. At the most he becomes a general labourer or takes up, for a time at least, some other unskilled work. The apprenticeship period determines his future industrial career. As the years pass he becomes more and more intimately bound up with the corporate organisation of his craft. The backing of his trade union as a personal safeguard; the benefits he has built up by insurance; the specialised experience that has moulded his industrial capacity; these are all to be left behind. The payment of benefit is one of the strongest ties that hold a man to the union in the more highly organised trades. For instance, among the engineers it is customary among the majority, even when they go abroad to the United States, to retain membership in the Amalgamated Engineering Union and transfer to the American branch. This is also a safeguard in the event of circumstances compelling a return to this country in the future. So the examples of mobility are almost universally only between closely allied branches of industry, or in the more unfortunate cases, steps downwards under the pressure of circumstances. The records indicate that the artisan prefers to remain out of work for a comparatively short time, awaiting renewed activity, rather than seek work of a general nature in an open market. This is especially evident in the Liverpool district amongst joiners, painters, plumbers, and fitters. Over half of 1,000 cases studied at Leece Street Exchange had been out of work for periods under three months only and there were only about 60 periods of over one year out of work. Many of these artisans were employed temporarily, but a job might last as long as eighteen months. Out of 243 from trades chosen at random, 34 (12.7 per cent.) only showed movement in or out of their trades.

IN the case of clerical workers, 133 cases were studied. Out of these, 104 showed no change in nature of work during the years 1920-25 inclusive; 7 showed movement from some other work to clerical work; 25 showed movement from clerical to other work.

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MOVEMENT outward among this small number is as follows in analysis :—

Barman 1	Steward 4
Cinema Operator . . 1	Shop Assistant . . 1
Canvasser 2	Trimmer 1
Labourer 8	Traveller 3
Porter 2	Waiter 1
Painter (assistant) . . 1	Own business . . 1
" Proprietor " . . . 1	

IN the case of about half of these, there would seem to be movement " downward " in the industrial scale.

THE very small inward movement was as follows :—

Painter (apprentice) . . 1	Doorman 1
P.O. Telephones (appren.) 1	General Labourer . . 1
Cotton Porter 1	Checker 1
Steward 1	

THESE would seem to indicate effort at " self-improvement " (e.g. night school).

AMONG *shop assistants*, 69 cases showed 7 moving out and 12 moving in, the remaining 50 showing no change of occupation in the four years.

OUTWARD.	INWARD.
Chargehand 1	Clerk 1
Tram Conductor . . . 1	Cutter 1
Paperhanger 1	Chargehand 2
Painters' labourer . . 1	Collector 1
Traveller 1	Blacksmiths' Striker . 1
Police 1	Drillers' Assistant . . 1
Warehouseman 1	Jeweller 1
	Tram Conductor . . 1
	Packer 1
	Apprentice Painter . . 1
	Warehouse worker . . 1

THESE lists are given in full to indicate the variety of mobility that is possible in the " exceptional case."

THE ages at which a change of occupation occurred in the cases studied are distributed round a maximum in the twenties. This indicates the prevalence of a second period of change after the juvenile period has passed. At the present time, owing to unemployment difficulties, a man, while yet young, may be forced to change

his occupation ; whereas in times of more prosperous trade, he is by then more likely to have made the choice of occupation that determines his future industrial career. The greater number in the younger age groups to change is the more noteworthy in consideration of the greater number of older men in attendance at the employment exchanges.

OUT of the 1,000 cases studied at Leece Street (including all types of skilled labour), 196 showed a change of district. Of these, 115 were married and 81 single. (Mobility within the Merseyside district is not included.) Place mobility is especially noteworthy among carpenters and journeymen fitters and others of the more highly skilled type, who almost always look for work in their trade rather than descend to less skilled labour.

VI. JUVENILES.

THE mobility of boy labour between different occupations is not very great, despite the high general mobility of juvenile labour. This is because of the limited range of occupations employing such labour on a large scale. The general mobility of juvenile labour is, however, remarkably high. The reasons for this characteristic rapidity of industrial movement have been noted by a number of writers. It has been said the boy labourer tends to be an industrial nomad. Passing whims for a change of occupation, taking offence at their superiors or, on the other hand, insolence, attraction of the slightest increase of pay to be obtained elsewhere, trivial objection, either on their own or their parents' part, to conditions of work, desire to work beside a chum elsewhere, minor offences, desire for a holiday, difficulty of finding proper aptitude, are all frequent causes.

ABOUT the age of 16 is more often than not the critical point in the individual's career. At that age a number of juvenile employments cease by understanding ; others dismiss most of the boys ; legislation for adults and young persons affects the boy more fully. New avenues in the world of labour open out—the sea, later, the docks. The skilled trades receive him as an apprentice if he is fortunate.

It has been common in studies of juvenile labour to show the contrast between the first two years and the second two years as regards nature of employment. These comparisons, mostly based on pre-war material, have shown the entry of a large proportion into apprenticeship by the time the later period is reached. The following list shows the record of a hundred boys in the live register of the Juvenile Department of the Employment Exchange at Newington, the only selection being that they were boys who were employed at both dates. The ages selected were 14½ years and 16½ years in order that some time might be allowed for getting to work at both periods.

	14½	16½
Skilled Apprentices	21	23
Junior Clerks and Office Boys	23	22
Messengers and Van Lads	22	17
Factories and Works	6	9
Sundry	28	29

AN allied question is that of the involuntary loss of situation at the age of 16. This is said to be common, avowedly for the purpose of escaping the increased responsibility of employing young persons over that age, when various measures of social legislation apply more strictly. The method adopted in studying this phenomenon was to take cross sections of numbers of boys on the registers, finding what they were doing at certain ages. In order to compare the period round about the sixteenth birthday with another not likely to be affected by this type of dismissal, the period round about the 15th birthday was selected. Three months before and after the birthday was the period studied in each case—six months in all. The object was to find how many lost their jobs within three months of either age. The following are the general results of the study of 255 boys' records.

CROSS SECTION AGE 16.

No loss of job within 3 months of 16th birthday . . .	155
Loss of job within 3 months of 16th birthday . . .	100
	39.2 per cent.

CROSS SECTION AGE 15.

No loss of job within 3 months of 15th birthday . . .	202
Loss of job within 3 months of 15th birthday . . .	53
	20.8 per cent.

THE percentages refer to a random sample, including boys whether employed or unemployed at the ages specified. The general results show how much commoner it is to lose or leave a situation, voluntarily or involuntarily, on reaching age 16 than on reaching age 15.

Errand Boys, 58 cases . . .	46 per cent. lost jobs at 16th birthday
60 " . . .	18 " " " 15th "
Vanlads, 9 " . . .	66 " " " 16th "
7 " . . .	14 " " " 15th "
Shop Assistants, 28 " . . .	46 " " " 16th "
21 " . . .	43 " " " 15th "
Junior Clerks, 15 " . . .	13 " " " 16th "
14 " . . .	— " " " 15th "
Office Boys, 13 " . . .	38 " " " 16th "
16 " . . .	25 " " " 15th "

THE considerable rise in the percentage of all except shop assistants and junior clerks shows the intervention of a new factor peculiar to the age 16 or thereabouts.

VII. EMIGRATION.

It remains to consider emigration as a factor in industrial mobility. The analysis of 127 applicants approved under the Australian Scheme Department, 1922-October, 1923, gives the following results :—

General Labourers	58
Artisans	18
Carters, Drivers, Motormen	14
Farm Labourers	13
Seamen, Stewards, Waiters	10
Shop Assistants	6
Clerical	4
Others	4

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THE reasons for the very small quantitative result of the Empire Settlement Act in Liverpool are many. Such emigration as occurs is due to the pressure behind rather than to the attraction in front ; and this very pressure generates a dislike of leaving the country. The high standards demanded by the Dominions are particularly formidable obstacles to emigration from a district with the labour conditions of Liverpool. The general environment—bad housing, climate, smoke, bad food, &c.—and the casual nature of the work affect the situation. One exchange official in charge of interviewing informal applicants, places the number of fit men at 10 per cent. at the most. The same conditions of employment increase the financial difficulties, and the deterioration of mental capacity lowers the adaptability of the would-be emigrant and makes lack of farming experience a more formidable obstacle.

THE emigration of skilled workers takes place almost entirely outside the operation of schemes under the Empire Settlement Act. The United States of America gets more of these than the British Dominions, and Canada comes first among the latter. The skilled worker may take the venture at his own cost, going out practically assured of work at his own trade, but leaving his family at home until he is certain of the prospects abroad. He may also, but less often, obtain the help of one or other of the emigration societies, particularly in cases where he has been hard hit by the trade depression. It is easier for him to go abroad where there is a demand for his particular skill or where the conditions of work are better, than to take up some other occupation, it may be in the lower ranks of industry. Figures are not obtainable for the emigration of skilled workers from the Liverpool district in particular, but the

case of the engineer may be taken as indicating what is happening. All men who leave and intend to keep in touch with the union have their names sent to headquarters. The figures collected by the union are, however, incomplete in so far as a proportion of the emigrants do not transfer to an oversea branch or inform the branch secretary of their intention to proceed abroad. But the majority retain their membership in case they should return to this country. The emigration of members of the Amalgamated Engineering Union to the U.S.A. or to Canada from the Liverpool district has been negligible. This emigration has been largely from the Clyde and Barrow. Clearances obtained from the General Secretary between September, 1920, and June, 1924, total 3,028.

DURING the first nine months of 1923, the total number of British emigrants of 18 years and upwards who went to non-European countries and were classed as "skilled trades" was 20,309, of whom 12,207 were bound for U.S.A.

ALTHOUGH most of this movement has been outside the Liverpool district, it constitutes a danger of a shortage of skilled engineers, in addition to the present shortage of apprentices, according to the secretary of the Liverpool Central Branch.

It was under Australian schemes that juveniles were sent from Liverpool up to 1924. As with the case of adults, the sifting of would-be emigrants is drastic owing to the generally poor physique of the population. Out of 150 applicants interviewed, only about 60 were accepted by the Australian authorities; the rest were rejected, deferred, or failed to appear. Up to the end of April, 1924, during a period of activity lasting from May, 1923, the number of boys who had actually sailed was only 24. The majority of these had been in low grade or blind alley occupations.

THERE were ten who had apparently been unemployed for more than 6 months, and four who had, apparently, been unemployed for over a year, three of these showing no record of work in the past two years and one of these had had no recorded job for a period of 40 months.

VIII. CONCLUSIONS.

THE most successful emigration from the individual's point of view is outside formal schemes, and in most cases, is amongst skilled workers who have followed the demand for their labour outside the bounds of the British Empire. The difficulty of change of occupation among skilled workers has been noted. It follows that it is emigration rather than occupational mobility that is the more important in relieving the position of such skilled labour. But in the

case of any permanent and gradual decline in a particular employment the remedy would rather be that of directing juveniles into more suitable openings. The prime importance of the direction of employment of juveniles is indicated.

PARENTAL occupation and other factors in the social upbringing have been shown to exercise considerable sway over the choice of occupation, both in the first few years of industrial life and in the more permanent choice of career. The mechanism of employment control must be made sufficiently strong to overcome if necessary—but perhaps more happily, to adapt such influences. The greatest problems of the labour bureaux are not so much those of exchange as of choice. The predominance of the former is a sign of failure in the latter. The danger of swamping the labour market lies amongst unskilled and semi-skilled labour rather than amongst skilled. Locally, it is only the first effects of attempted regulation that are being experienced.

As the "squeezing out" process continues not only at the docks but elsewhere, these changes seem likely, for a time, to become greater. It is here that emigration appears, not so much as a successful palliative, but as emphasising weakness in our system. The type of unskilled and semi-skilled labour met with in such an area as Liverpool has been shown to be unfitted for, or unwanted by, the great countries of emigration. Internal industrial mobility among such labour is comparatively easy, apart from growing restrictions; but there is an obvious disharmony between the needs of this country and those of the emigration countries. The latter desire our best men to develop their country, and we need them to maintain, as far as possible, our industrial position; but we cannot offer them individually such a fair chance. The problem of emigration is not the central one; it is only incidental and symptomatic. The real difficulty and the real problem is in raising our general standards of fitness, not only in industry, but in national life as a whole. If we succeed in this, emigration will no longer be a draining away of our best; but, what it certainly is not at the present time, only the movement of a fair sample of our population.

COMMUNICATIONS.

REGIONAL SURVEY AND THE SECONDARY SCHOOL.

THE conception of Regional Survey is very largely a sociological one. Its method is essentially that of observation and it implies a study of man in relation to his geographical environment. It is concerned with what has somewhat picturesquely been described as "the Drama of Man played upon the Stage of Nature." As a preliminary to the setting forward of schemes of social betterment in any particular region, it would seem that as complete as possible a survey of the region should be made in order to discover its possibilities. The method of such a survey is scientific though the aim is humanistic. The process is comparable to that employed in medicine. Before the physician can treat a case he must first diagnose it; he makes a careful examination of the patient's body, enquiries into the family history, and finally, when he is in possession of as many facts as he can collect, he prescribes a course of treatment. In much the same way a regional survey—as for example, that of *EAST KENT*, published by Prof. Abercrombie and Mr. John Archibald—may be prepared as a preliminary to a town-planning scheme. All this implies what one may call a regional survey "technique;" for the would-be sociologist must learn to diagnose before he can take it upon him to prescribe.

THE development of the Regional Survey idea has coincided with and can be closely associated with the development of the regional method in the teaching of school geography; and it is possible, therefore, for the school, as part of its ordinary educational work, to give valuable help in equipping the future citizen with some knowledge of this regional survey "technique." The sociologist, with his realisation that local conditions help to explain and to influence local social problems, has seen that social betterment can be attained only by a scientific study of those conditions in the small area where they are found. The teacher of geography on the other hand, though taking things as he finds them, has sought to work out broadly a chain of cause and effect to explain or illustrate the phenomena of human society. The regional geographer can therefore pave the way for the sociologist, as the biologist paves the way for the physician. But, although the scientific method implied in the idea of *regional* geography is now universally employed in schools in dealing with the major natural regions of the earth or with smaller well-marked physical regions, there has been a far less general attempt to apply and develop the regional idea in reference to the immediate neighbourhood in which the pupil lives; and the result is that a schoolboy who can describe and explain the distribution of rainfall or vegetation or population or industries or town sites over India or Ireland is not usually encouraged to ascertain and to attempt to explain similar facts about the small area immediately surrounding his own home or his school.

THE reason is not far to seek. *Regional Geography*, as a school subject, is possible only with pupils who are old enough to understand and to apply the systematic causal nexus which links up the sequence of facts. Normally "regional" work of this kind could hardly be begun before the age of 11 or 12, when the child has already gained some acquaintance with elementary Physics. But in the Secondary School the curriculum is inevitably determined by the needs of the First School examination. It is to a considerable extent by the results of this examination that the efficiency of a school

is tested by parents, governors, and officials alike. Moreover, when a boy leaves a secondary school at the age of 16 his prospective employer almost invariably expects him to possess a First School certificate; and for those boys who aspire to the professions a full Matriculation credit is indispensable. The Secondary School, therefore—as things are at present—is forced to direct its energies largely towards helping its boys to teach the standard of the General School examination in the four or five short years at their disposal. Almost every period on the time-table (except those given to subjects which are required by the Board of Education but are not normally offered in examinations) has to be planned so as to cover part of the syllabus which leads up to the examination. Thus there is little room for “trimmings”; and although a few schools give some of their forms a weekly lesson in Civics or Hygiene, most headmasters when drawing up their time-tables not unnaturally keep to the beaten track. The elementary school is less hampered in this respect; and it is to be hoped that the new Central schools will manage to avoid the examination incubus. But the fact remains that in the Secondary school, the inclusion of definite regional survey work carried out by pupils in the school area is difficult, largely because such work is not included in the geography syllabus of the First School examination.

BUT even the examination-ridden secondary school does realise that education is greater than examination results; its insistence on the value of organised games and corporate activities is sufficient proof of this. And for that reason there is a definite and growing desire on the part of teachers of geography to direct the attention of their pupils to regional study. For many years past, what is called “home geography” has played its part in the secondary school syllabus; but that is not synonymous with “regional survey.” The former, I take it, is essentially descriptive and would be dealt with in the lowest forms of the secondary school; while regional work is an application of the scientific method and, as has been said, can hardly be entered upon before the age of 11 or 12. How can we then, without seriously endangering our examination results, give our pupils in the secondary school some preliminary acquaintance with the regional “technique,” which may facilitate an intelligent handling of social problems and should therefore be part of the equipment of the future citizen?

A BEGINNING can be made even at what may be called the “pre-regional” stage, i.e. with children of less than 11 years of age. The scout movement has already shown us how the natural curiosity of young children can be used to put them in touch with all departments of their geographic environment. As soon as children have learnt to understand and to draw for themselves simple plans and maps, first of the classroom and then of the school field, they can be sent for walks in the school district and be asked to record their observations. These should be entered in a note-book, ruled in three columns like a surveyor’s field book. In the classroom these details are transferred to sketch maps (which need not necessarily, at this stage, be drawn to scale), and thus is obtained a transect of the walk, i.e. a survey along a line. As more and more walks are taken and the work widens the transects will cross and recross until some kind of rough map results; and this represents a more or less complete survey of the school district—crude, doubtless, but valuable, because it is the outcome of direct observation on the part of the pupils. Another type of survey work suitable for the youngest children in a secondary school is an elementary surface utilisation survey. The colourings or shadings may not be so detailed as those recommended by Mr. C. C. Fagg in his most helpful little pamphlet; but the scheme can

be worked out by the teacher and his class in co-operation, and once determined, will be strictly adhered to. As the pupils grow older and more experienced in survey work their surface utilisation surveys may be made more elaborate, and a series of such surveys made in successive years is often instructive and suggestive.

BUT, as has been indicated, the serious regional survey work must come after the age of 11 or 12. In most schools the periods allotted to geography are barely sufficient for the requirements of the examination syllabus, and in that case a Regional Survey Society will probably be formed, under the direction of the geography master, and will carry on its work on half-holidays and summer evenings. The present writer, however, has made a venture of faith by putting Regional Survey into the time-table as a special subject with periods of its own. In the second year of the secondary school course proper (i.e. with boys of 12), one period a week is given to the work and the senior geography master takes charge of it. In the next year the same forms go on to the senior history master. Thus every boy has a two-year course in survey and he works through it along the regional sequence with which he has already become familiar in his ordinary geography lessons. In the first year he deals with questions of relief, geology, hydrography, climate, vegetation and animal life in relation to his home region; while in the second year he deals with topics of local history and the social and occupational survey. It is not necessary here to give in detail the methods employed. Suffice it to say that the boys work in small groups, each dealing with some particular point in the survey, along the lines indicated in the Leplay House "Discovery" sheet. Periodic "reporting" lessons are held, at which each group in turn gives an account of its work. The account is then discussed by the form as a whole under the direction of the master in charge. In this way everyone is kept in touch with each department of the survey as it proceeds, although every member of the form has some particular piece of work in which he is especially interested. As examples of work done may be cited a plotting out of the river system which once occupied the dry chalk valleys in the down country to the south of the school; an account of the local water supply and its relation to this lost river system; a plotting of the water table from observations on the height of water in wells; a relating of the distribution of vegetation to the drift geology of the region; detailed work on local churches and other historic buildings, on villages and roads, on industries and occupations; an investigation of local "imports" and "exports"; graphical and diagrammatic records of local social statistics. In short, an attempt is made in many directions to apply to the school area the regional method of the geography text book. The work is bound to be sporadic and, perhaps, not very systematic, mainly because of the very limited time available. But as the survey grows a large amount of material will be collected and some of it at any rate will be worthy to be kept. The ideal scheme is, doubtless, to have a filing cabinet with folders, each of which is appropriated to some particular department of the survey. But in a school regional survey, after all, the work itself is no less important than the result; the training in observation and the development of intelligent interest in the home neighbourhood are at least as valuable as the tabulated results in the file. This means that as time goes on the same ground will be covered again and again by successive batches of boys. But that is not a disadvantage and in some cases, e.g. in dealing with climatic statistics or the rotation of crops or the development of housing schemes, this is essential to the carrying out of the survey itself.

It is desirable to awaken local interest in the regional work which the school is trying to carry on ; and for this reason, when a fair amount of illustrative material has been collected, there should be some kind of exhibition, preferably in a room at the local Museum or Free Library or, failing that, in the school itself. Even if, from the educational standpoint, it is the *process* of survey which interests us most, it will stimulate the whole work if the pupils themselves and outsiders too are led to realise that a regional survey is a matter of general local interest, even if it is carried out in an elementary and sporadic way by a school in connection with its ordinary geography syllabus. The only danger is that we may be led to forget that the work is never finished ; and that is why published books on the regional survey of a small area are sometimes unsatisfactory, because they tend to suggest that the last word has been said.

SCHOOL survey work is, doubtless, many-sided, and no ordinary secondary school can afford the time to carry out anything like a complete survey of its own district. But even if the curriculum is already full and largely pre-determined by examination requirements, regional survey is not so much a new subject as an application of work, which is already being done. It can be made to illustrate and to supplement not only the Geography of the school, but also the History and the Nature Study, as well as some of the Arithmetic and the Drawing ; while the writing up of notes and records gives constant practice in English Composition. Mr. Valentine Bell has shown how these results can be accomplished in an elementary school ; but it is possible even in a secondary school, where boys are taught in forms by specialists. All this is valuable ; but the spirit and outlook which school Regional Survey should inculcate are more valuable still. When geography is treated as a broadly humanist subject, leading up to and linking on to history and sociology, it can become a potent spiritual influence. The intensive study of the school region is like a study of the world in little ; and if we can help our pupils to realise in a cool, intellectual way, rather than by appeals to sentiment, their relationships and responsibilities in that microcosm, they may be set in the way of realising sooner or later a far wider citizenship. So regional survey in the school may be something more than the development of observation, or a help towards understanding the regional sequence when it is applied to questions of world geography. It should be regarded as a training in sociological method, and it brings us back to the standpoint of the social worker who attempts to look at the phenomena of human society from an impartial scientific standpoint in order that he may thus be qualified to realise his responsibilities as a citizen and to work for the welfare of his community. If the teacher who is responsible for directing a school survey will make this, as far as may be, his ultimate aim, then his subject may become an education in civic morality, such as can never be imparted by merely dogmatic or informative lessons on Civics, or on what the French call "Morale."

H. C. BARNARD.

MR. J. MARTIN WHITE.

As we go to Press, the announcement comes of the sudden death of Mr. J. Martin White. One of the founders of the Sociological Society, Mr. Martin White remained a generous benefactor. He acted as Treasurer of the Society for about 20 years. An obituary account will appear in the October number of the REVIEW.

"SOCIOLOGY" IN THE NEW LITERATURE.

THE feature of the present moment is the destruction of the old and the creation of a new world (by world meaning human society and its environment). And a feature of these processes is the very active participation in one or the other or both, by contemporary writers of fiction. It has, indeed, of late, become apparent that post-war fictional literature has a very great interest for sociology. And for illustration I propose an examination of the work of two contemporary writers: Mr. Wyndham Lewis in England and Mr. V. F. Calverton in America. Both writers are working out theses of new worlds, that is, new social worlds, peopled by societies whose minds shall be concentrated on, and organised and disciplined by, environment, much as the mind of present-day society is said to be by the new theories and ideas exemplified in new architectural forms designed by Olbrich and Mendelsohn in Germany, Tatlin in Russia, and Le Corbusier in France, to name but four of the extremist "liberators."

BOTH Mr. Lewis and Mr. Calverton are developing their theses in a succession of books which provide keen analyses of post-war fictional and other literature in which, in their belief, is expressed the concrete outlook of society. This literature comprises what is vaguely known as drama, art, poetry, and more definitely, fiction (in the widest sense of the term).

MR. WYNDHAM LEWIS may be said to be the leader of the movement aiming to exalt the intellectuals, the superior minds, as the redeemers of mankind from all evil, and its transfiguration into a world of pure intellect. He is in fact an individualist and a Thomist intellectual. To some of us he is known as a painter turned writer. But he has been writing as long as I have known him. To-day he is in the depths, so to speak, pre-occupied with a new Time system calculated to make all specialists concerned in any way with the Time schools, old and new, materialist and subjective, blush for their ignorance. By means of his new Time philosophy, which he describes in his latest book, *TIME AND WESTERN MAN*, he hopes to reclaim a large number of "Revolutionary Simpletons," poets, literary people, artists, and others, whose work reflects a changing generation and environment, from the banal influences of philosophers and scientists of the Time and Sex schools, whose theories he attacks and appraises accordingly. The "simpletons" have drawn their inferences and inspirations from these sources without thinking. He will intervene, separate them from evil influences and set them to work to enthrone true intellectual (Thomist) and severely geometric creations as factors that shall render them capable of working out a beautiful design of a new social world fit for perfect citizens. Just as in Russia art has become enthroned as an indispensable builder of the Bolshevik Paradise.

THOUGH there are certain resemblances to be noted between Mr. Lewis and Mr. Calverton, marked differences predominate. I should call Mr. Calverton a leader in the literary field of what might be named "inferiority sociology." Mr. Lewis believes that redemption from evil and a purified society will come through the recognition by intellectuals, in particular artists, of their status and function as true revolutionists. On the other hand, Mr. Calverton believes in mass emancipation, that the social millenium will be attained by and through co-operation with the mass or common people. Thus he is a collectivist, a humanitarian, a Marxian intellectual, and besides this, a literary man fully equipped with an encyclopædic knowledge of the subject with which he is pre-occupied, namely the re-interpretation of society and its modes of expression in the light of Marx. Like Mr. Lewis, he seeks

to illustrate his theory and to convert others to his belief by analysing a number of works by new and young writers. But, unlike Mr. Lewis, he seeks such writers under radical and Marxian influences. By this means he brings to light the radical tendencies of society to-day as expressed by such works.

It is with Mr. Calverton's sociological aim and end as expounded and illustrated by his publications that I propose to deal here. And as I am chiefly concerned to show that such present-day analysis of literature as his is an advance in the right sociological direction, seeing that it digs sociological data out of the books in which writers with strong radical leanings are placing them, I shall confine myself to an examination of his analysis of certain historical and contemporary expressions in respect of "inferiority sociology," and the correlation of these in forms of dramatic and other literature.

HERE let me say that these "inferiority sociology" data are provided by the said writers' attitude towards, for example, the Freudian handling of Sex, the new post-war race problems, such as the clash of colour, adoration of the fine qualities in the despised down-trodden and subject peoples. In this attitude Mr. Wyndham Lewis, on the other hand, discovers, as he thinks, a manifestation of "the inferiority complex of the romantic Whites" who, in his opinion, are debasing themselves by bowing their proud heads to their inferiors. The artist leaders of the Great Whites do not understand the incurably inferior blacks. But the blacks understand the whites and are convulsed with laughter at their imbecilities. It is the Great Whites' business to control the world, and the business of the aesthetic leaders of the Great Whites to control their undignified fellows.

WHEN we turn the leaves of Mr. Calverton's books and magazines we find an entirely different attitude towards the attitude of racial release and influence. The domination of the whites is not inevitable. The Great White race was not pre-ordained to farm the world. The assumption that there is colour in brains is not upheld. The general upheaval not only of the coloured races but of the so-called inferior whites, the proletarians, for example,—an upheaval that marks the revolutionary effect of the War and the Russian Revolution on the thought and action of subject peoples in all parts of the world, and that is finding increasing expression in the books by writers of the present generation, in particular, in America,—such upheaval was to be expected. From the forces let loose may come a more important contribution to world order than from purely intellectual sources.

MR. CALVERTON's attitude is then against the spirit of Mr. Lewis's "Paleface" attack. The spirit which he himself diffuses in the defence of the awakening of the Masses, the exaltation of the "under dog" where the "top dog" too long has been, so to speak, and the encouragement which he offers to those who support this defence, and the sturdy determination which he manifests to push his thesis through the parliament of intellectual and popular opinion, gives strong support to what some may consider an old movement, namely the rise of the common people to power, as has happened from time to time throughout the ages. On the other hand, many may consider it a new movement since Marx's "scientific" socialism and Lenin's bolshevism have given new life to it.

WHAT is Mr. Calverton's thesis? It is set down in his first book, *THE NEW SPIRIT*, published in America by Boni and Liveright. On page 51 of the first chapter, entitled *Sociological Criticism of Literature*, we read:

"ALTHOUGH revolutions in aesthetics are due to revolutions in ideas, every revolution in ideas is a consequence of a revolution in the social structure that the prevailing materials have produced."

It may be noted that this paragraph contains, no doubt by accident, the theses of Mr. Lewis and of Mr. Calverton set out one against the other. Mr. Lewis believes that revolutions in æsthetics are due to revolutionary ideas determined by subjectivism; whereas Mr. Calverton believes that revolution is determined by material conditions.

AGAIN, on page 21, he expands his thesis in the following manner:

"As we continue to cautiously and minutely study the literature of any race or period, then we eventually discover that all the theories and concepts, the dicta and shibboleths, of creative and critical effort are but the outgrowths of the social system in which they have their being, and which in turn is the product of the material conditions of the time. This point we shall illustrate at considerable length. Under feudalism, for instance, we shall show that the literary conceptions which prevailed were in consonance with the social structure and did not change until the latter began to alter. In similar manner we shall picture the changes in social environment that brought with them the different literary concepts and tactics of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. And, finally, we shall consider the complex expansion of science and industry during the latter part of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, and its effect upon the form and substance of contemporary literature."

THEREAFTER follow analyses of the drama and the novel as determined by social structure and material conditions. Mr. Calverton considers four historical concepts of the drama arising from four different social structures as determined by four different sets of material conditions. There is the early aristocratic with its feudal implications, the succeeding bourgeois due to the rise of the middle class and the monopoly of the theatre by this class, the utopian, the product of individualistic socialism in England, France, Germany and America; and there is the latest concept, the proletarian, the product of the gradual rise of Labour, and the awakening of class-consciousness under the scourge of capitalism. Thus he shows the evolution of the drama on sociological (or should it be social) lines, and how it has reflected in turn the cult of feudalism, the cult of puritanism and middle-class morality, the cult of ego worship and pseudo-moral reform, and the cult of latter-day class-consciousness. Proletarianised is what the drama has shown a tendency to become in this latter day, and Mr. Calverton applies a sympathetic criticism to this new social development of which the social structure which must proceed and aid it only exists in patches, so to speak, if we except Soviet Russia, though the material conditions which must originate the structure are everywhere working through different channels and, according to different theories, in particular, the very vague ones expressed by socialists.

THE book contains a very instructive chapter on Mr. Sherwood Anderson, one of the present-day outstanding American fictionists. It develops and applies to the contemporary novel Mr. Calverton's thesis about the materialistic transition of society, and his method of sociological criticism of literature. It shows how busy the new American writers are seriously analysing the present American civilisation. Some of us know who these writers are, their purpose and method. There is Mr. Theodore Dreiser, for example, whose novels are said to be filled with contemporary sociological interest. Indeed, one of them, *AN AMERICAN TRAGEDY*, is held to be fit to stand beside Darwin's *ORIGIN* as the companion volume illustrating the future of what Darwin sought and found in the past. In this extraordinary book Mr. Dreiser takes all America for his canvas. In Mr. Calverton's opinion, Mr. Sherwood Anderson's work "affords an excellent introduction to what we may call the proletarian concept exemplified in literature." But it is important to note that Mr. Calverton does not appear to think that these new novelists should be moved by a creative impulse to question current American financial, economic, social and cultural life. He suggests that they do so

because the time is ripe for the job, the proletariat having become fit material for literary expression. "The point that must be stressed," says Mr. Calverton, "is that this new attitude, this new vision of life and nature of the working man, are not the result of any sudden and spontaneous determination on the part of artists to appreciate the indescribable tragedy of his existence, but the consequence of changing social conditions which have made such determination, such interest, possible." Here we have social conditions imposing themselves upon the artist. How different Mr. Wyndham Lewis's view is. In a long essay on the very same subject, Sherwood Anderson, whom he selects as one of the giants of the new American writers worthy to provide a target for his deadly vituperation, he exhibits him entangled in White horrors, bending the knee to tongue-tied and imbecile inferiors instead of standing erect and pouring out a creative stream that shall come from some vague subjective source. No social conditions imposing themselves on the artist for Mr. Lewis. The proper place for the intellectual White giants, who gurgle their hoarse rapturous coo-coos over inferior races and things, is Mr. Lewis's lethal chamber.

MR. CALVERTON's new book, *SEX EXPRESSION IN LITERATURE*, is a further development and application of his sociological method of criticism. It is a long and brilliant statement of changing attitudes towards Sex expression as reflected by the drama, stage by stage, from Elizabethan times to the present,—the Elizabethan attitude, the Puritan, the Reformation, and so on; and by the novel. The last section of the book that shows Sex in a new light as seen by the young writers of to-day, most of whom are strongly influenced by Freud and his disciples, is perhaps of most importance just now. To Mr. Calverton it seems that the mysterious thing called Sex has been struggling for free expression all through the ages. The thrust for liberation, as well as the repressing hand of censorship, have shown themselves in ideals, ideas, customs, religious and social of each epoch.

WHAT has Sex expression become in our time, free or otherwise? What new forces and circumstances have operated upon it to liberate it or repress it? What sociological story does it tell as it floats over and through the works of dramatists and novelists? Mr. Calverton exhibits the post-war answers to these questions as they fall red-hot from contemporary literature. From philosophic and scientific works by authorities who are influencing current thought and action. From books by young writers who have gained experience from the war, who are influenced by the new psychology, by behaviourism, by chemistry, who are actuated by a feeling of supreme superiority conferred on them and those they represent, by the widespread and sensational discussion of the importance of Youth to the organisation and building of the new world. Such books reveal that the young people of to-day claim that they are the real founders of the new civilised culture, that they are the keepers of virtue and morality, that they have attained full stature and complete liberty, especially in matters of sex and literary expression. We have only to turn to extreme periodicals like *TRANSITION*, a monthly journal published in English and in Paris, to see to what extremes even the literary "giants," James Joyce, Gertrude Stein and others, are going. Each is "creating" a language of their own. All are engaged in building a sort of literary Tower of Babel. Young contributors from all parts of the world assure us that on the whole they are the pioneers of a new and daring fearlessness in the destruction of old and time-honoured social claims, especially those of sex, marriage, the family, religion, and property. They exhibit their rosy feet dancing on and crushing the weeds as they think. But are

they weeds? Looking closer we notice that they follow a little path of primitive free indulgence through a jungle of ignorance that leads nowhere except to the consulting room of the psycho-analyst. A vision of sex happiness leads them on. It leaps like a radiant flame to their eyes. To them the Summer of Sex is very near. To the man of sense it is very far off. Is Sex liberation only Sex licence, after all?

ALL this may appear a criticism of Mr. Calverton's position, for he is a powerful supporter of the movement towards complete sex liberation—a movement which leads him to say that "the Victorian girl has become adolescent." But though he eagerly shows that the sun of toleration is drawing up the shoots of free expression, he does not neglect to show that intolerance is dying bravely with the Censor's colours flying, not half-mast, but mast high, especially in America where the airs of Sex Spring are very chilly indeed. Mr. Calverton's book is a brilliant and scholarly piece of work as an affirmation of the present belief that rationalistic and materialistic ways of thought and action are capable of solving the present problems of liberation, sex and other. But can we say that in our present state of knowledge such belief is any more than an assumption? What is actually proved is that the discoveries and conclusions of those engaged in the fields of pure science, physics, chemistry and biology (which, like psychology, is as yet in its teens, though indeed, some say that psychology is not yet born), of mental and natural sciences, are filtering through young writers and leading them to look for corresponding facts in society and its environment, as well as in themselves. For example, self-psycho-analysis in literary form is quite the fashion. It is the autobiographical novel written while the pallid voice of Freud is whispering in the writer's ear. Added to these scientific influences must be the delusion produced by the war, which tore the mask of idealism off the past and presented it to the eye of Youth as a withered branch. Further, must be added the economic pressure which compels many a good writer to exploit any sensational subject that comes to hand. The so-called "new morality" is one such subject. I say "so-called" because morality to-day, even in its new gear, does not appear to differ much from that of ancient savages. Scratch the current sentiments of goodwill and reconciliation and we shall find the old feelings of hatred and antagonism. War, murder, crime, superstition, belief in magic, sorcery and devil worship, are these not as much a part of human belief in Europe and America to-day as they were of savage beliefs ages ago? Is the sex impulse of present-day "savages" working on different lines from those of ancient savages? Can we say that the sex release which permits boys and girls to do openly what they did secretly in Victorian time has not a primitive origin, and was common to social groups long before the anthropologist was born to take part in sociological inquiry?

MR. CALVERTON quotes abundant facts and figures in support of his case. Dealing with the spread of unrestricted sex relations between young people, he comments on Judge Lindsay's investigations in this matter. "After an examination of cases and averages," he says, "it seems a conservative estimate to state that 50 per cent. of high-school boys have sex relations either with girl friends or prostitutes." . . . "Among high-school girls the figures are even more interesting as an index to our changing morality." (Why changing?) It seems that more than 90 per cent. of high-school boys and girls provide evidence that they are obsessed by the "spirit" of sex release. What does this prove? "Sex was rediscovered by the psychoanalysts," observes Mr. Calverton. Or shall we say that the facts regarding

it have been discovered by scientific machinery which did not exist a century ago. Suppose it had existed; should we now be able to claim that from a sex point of view we are better and freer than our immediate ancestors, that is, freer in indulgence? But if we examine periods during which sex was most repressed, what do we find? We find that they were periods in which men were not only obsessed by the idea of sex, but indulged in practices besides which the highly praised doings of the sex released juveniles of to-day are mere trifles. Old books like *Maria Monk* exist to remind us of the big production of a form of literature that expressed freely the abominable practices carried on both within and without monasteries and convents. New books come daily into circulation that express freely the kind of sex mania that we are told is so common to school boys and girls. So do plays. The American play, "Young Woodley," which recently provided the newspaper Press with so much copy, is an example.

So comes the question provoked by Mr. Calverton's book: Is the general attitude towards sex any different from what it always has been? Are not proofs of sex release merely proofs of experiments carried on by small cliques, coteries, cranks, whose attitude towards sex is based on false philosophy and false assumptions? Are these people any more advanced on the road to a complete understanding of the questions contained by a sex world of the greatest magnitude in history than the characters in the ignorant and mischievous play called "Trial Marriage" by Mr. Miles Malleson?

THIS preoccupation with the glorification of sex belongs to an "inferiority sociology." It is a sign of advance to Mr. Calverton. It is a nightmare to Mr. Wyndham Lewis, who can see no good in writers who attempt to build a good social life with bad material such as he considers the satisfaction of men's basest and uncontrollable appetites to be.

ALTHOUGH Mr. Calverton's thesis is open to question, it may be said that "Sex Expression in Literature" is a valuable contribution to sociological criticism. Its value is increased by the fact that it is by a writer who knows how to apply the sociological method of inquiry, proceeding, in turn, from origins, human and natural, to changes in social structure, and thereafter to a summary of present-day realisation of ideal and idea. He believes that the products of peoples cannot be considered apart from material conditions, and the social structure is a key, not the key, to what we can learn about them.

The MODERN QUARTERLY, of which he is editor, contains articles which support and develop this position.

HUNTLY CARTER.

SEE NAPLES AND DIE. (New Version.)

THERE was, until a year ago, in the small village of Prad, less than 20 miles from Vienna, a shepherd who had lived his many years intent only on his Church, his home and his sheep. Of these interests the last was the most absorbing for the Church was to him, who so loved and knew the wind and the fields, a shut house of mystery filled with the close smell of incense and the cadenced voice of the priest, and from his home his children had gone, and his wife had grown old and silent, matching his age and silence. Only the seasons and the sheep remained—true unities, constant in their change.

In the evenings, when his flock was folded, he would sit in the tiny square of the village over his pipe and lidded beer pot talking with those few friends who had grown old with him, or listening to some stranger from the world

beyond the low hills. Such strangers filled him with astonishment. They talked fast and with gestures, they seemed always fevered with perplexities and excitements incomprehensible to him, they had no repose nor power of listening, even the cut and colour of their clothes changed from year to year. They spoke of his village and his life with a contempt or pity that they could not hide. At first he thought of them as did his friends with a slow, certain disdain. These galvanised, ratchetty creatures were only to be tolerated for the money that they spent like fools: there lay a very sweet satisfaction in cheating them in small bargains. But as he grew older he grew not so certain. Perhaps these people did get more pleasure, more interest, out of life. They would, so he heard, travel thirty miles in a day and travel again on the morrow. Particularly he grew interested in the great town which they all knew. Vienna became to him a mystery and a lure. He longed ever more strongly to see this great place.

ONE evening he spoke of this attraction to a party of travellers, richer as it seemed and more kindly than the rest. He spoke as was the way of his people in half-sentences and hints, broken by silences and the puffs of his pipe. They were amused and at last offered to take him on the next day with them in their motor to Vienna. They would show him all the sights and bring him back at evening. They promised themselves great amusement at his naïf comments. They would see their home afresh through his eyes.

In the morning they started. A little group of villagers escorted the old man to the car and helped to pack him in, and stood round with their jokes and to these he replied in the peasant way with unchanging countenance but with point and spirit. In the car he bore himself with quiet approval and even waved to a man that they passed, but when they came to the first suburbs he leaned forward in his astonishment. They drove slowly into the heart of the city and he only spoke once to ask what one vehicle was. They told him it was a tram and he crossed himself hurriedly. They put their car away in a garage off the City Square and showed him all the things in which he should be interested. He followed them submissively but, so they thought, with a growing depression and once, after they had shown him the new Post Office, they saw tears in his eyes. They drew his attention to policemen and motor-buses, to advertisements and newspaper posters and the statue of the Emperor Francis Joseph, and at all of these he gazed in silence. They had planned for him a lunch at a big hotel but he seemed to have but little appetite, taking but a mouthful of each course and answering listlessly.

As a climax to the entertainment they showed him the Courts of Justice and the buildings of the Parliament House. At these he gazed long and made the only comment of the day, "Oh, dear," he said, "Oh, dear, oh, dear."

SADDENED by the failure of their trip they took him back to his little village, and that night he made the only criticism of which he was capable. A great man can destroy cities; a poor man can only destroy himself. This was the way he took who would not live in a world which held the sprawling degradation of the new towns—the cities that hold no citizens—and his sheep have found another master and he another and finer flock and better beer than is brewed on earth.

GEORGE DAVIES.

BOOK REVIEWS.

PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION : SELECT DOCUMENTS :

by S. P. Breckinridge, Professor of Social Economy in the University of Chicago. Published by the University of Chicago Press. pp. 786. 1927. (61 2s. 6d. net.)

THIS very important volume follows Prof. Breckinridge's *FAMILY WELFARE WORK IN A METROPOLITAN COMMUNITY*, published in 1924 and reprinted in 1926, and neither of them can be neglected by students of sociology. Of the former, suffice it to say here, that it supplies the material without which it is difficult, even impossible, really to understand the second. We can read any quantity of social legislation and of treatises upon it and upon social theory, but, unless we know how these acts impinge upon actual people, and how the theories are illustrated by the experiences of these people, we are little the wiser. In Prof. Breckinridge's earlier volume she gives us forty-four case records, selected and arranged for the precise purpose we have just endeavoured to enunciate from the case boxes of the Chicago C.O.S. and the parallel Jewish Society of that city.

IN the present volume she gives us a collection of documents of four kinds : (1) reports of legislative committees or commissions of investigation ; (2) statutes ; (3) reports of the authorities set up under such statutes ; and (4) discussions in national conferences or suitable gatherings, the whole being "an attempt to set out and to illustrate the problems presenting themselves in connection with the undertaking on the part of the community to secure, through public organisation, certain services now generally characterised as welfare or social services."

ONCE we get past the differences—only slight in any case—of administrative terminology, we find ourselves in the presence of a group of burning questions of our own ; questions in which the Americans are deeply interested, but which to us, if mishandled, may spell ruin, and that very quickly.

THE Americans want to do their public assistance work better because they are wild enthusiasts for progress ; they want to manage it better because muddle and waste are abominable in their eyes. We have *got* to do *both*, for the simple reason that we have piled up such a budget to pay for this service, and collected so vast an array of persons subsisting upon the doles, that the hour rapidly approaches when we shall neither be able to pay the bill nor handle the dependent multitude.

IN this field of enquiry—public assistance and social service—the most baffling and elusive of all enquiries, the Americans start with this great advantage : they can apply J. S. Mill's *METHOD OF DIFFERENCE* all the time. The reader will remember the emphasis laid by Mill upon the superiority of this to all other methods of reaching truth. Each state in the American Union has complete sovereignty in this department. Thus Illinois might be introducing outdoor relief at the same moment that Ohio was abolishing it. Massachusetts might be developing municipal public assistance just when Pennsylvania was deciding to leave the work to voluntary societies. Neither in population nor in distances do these states exceed the scale of our own island, yet with us, everything is centralised. What suits or irks a group of active politicians from South Wales or Tyneside is thereupon, by national legislation, forced upon, or denied to, Hampshire and Kent. Because the industries of Sheffield are depressed we submit to orgies of Poor Law extravagance in South and East London where they are flourishing.

THE documents in Miss Breckinridge's book show us, for example, that in 1857 the State of New York was advised by a special committee to "adopt everywhere the system of *outdoor* relief successfully practised in New York city" (p. 153); while in 1858 a similar committee was advising Massachusetts that "if there ever was a system at loose ends it is the present pauper system of Massachusetts" (p. 135), and, "there is no justice nor charity in supporting able-bodied men and women in idleness." (p. 137). Actually to-day (1928) New York city gives no outdoor relief (Miss Breckinridge cites a document illustrating the abuse of it in Brooklyn) though other cities in the State of New York (*e.g.* Buffalo) do give it, and Boston, in the State of Massachusetts, also gives it. Cleveland, in the State of Ohio, does not give outdoor relief but is seriously considering its reintroduction. Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, does *not* give it (except in the suburb of Germantown), and Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, does *not* give it.

OUR volume divides the history of the subject into three parts: (1) prior to 1863; (2) 1863-1917; (3) 1917 to the present day. This is peculiarly helpful to an English student, because 1863 forms a dividing line like our 1834, and it is in the last 10 years that America and England has diverged in so marked a fashion, America concentrating upon constructive individual case work, England upon a policy of almost universal cash allowances to meet every variety of contingency.

THE reader is doubtless eager to know what light Miss Breckinridge's documents throw on the "spoils" system of staffing public administration, and the more so as she belongs herself to Chicago, whose present Mayor, "Big Bill Thompson" and his, or his opponents,' bomb throwers are taking up so much space even in our newspapers. (A friend from there writes this morning to reassure me that he is still alive!)

OUR author's second period, 1863-1917, was ushered in by a general move for State supervision of social services (corresponding to our Poor Law Commissioners of 1834, who became first the Local Government Board and then a department of the Ministry of Health. The first form the movement took (p. 237) was for "continous, lay, unpaid boards, generally supervisory in character." Section IV. of Part II. of our book (pp. 427-462) is devoted to "partisan interference" and the "merit" system of appointment and promotion as opposed to the "spoils" system. We are warned at the outset (p. 243) that "no name was adopted by more than two States." Most people in this country hope that a change of name will abolish the unpopularity of the relief authority. They will be able to select from among the many titles in vogue in America. (Suitably what was at one time called everywhere "C.O.S." work is now done under 97 different *soubriquets* in the English-speaking world.) These "boards," under their many names, were and are appointed by the Governor of the State, himself an elected person.

THE reader with limited time will turn to p. 293 for a carefully worked out example of "the extent to which the accepted structure of these boards enabled them to resist partisan pressure." Miss Breckinridge sets out in tabular form the names of the three trustees and the name of the superintendent of the Kankakee State Hospital for the Insane (Illinois) for the whole period, 1878 to 1908, with an entry for every second year. The records that "at the time of the 1900 election" among the 400 employees of all classes there were not more than a dozen left who had been there under the first superintendent, Dr. Prichard S. Dewey (1880-1890). The once notorious Governor Altgeld was a party to some of these and similar manœuvres.

ON pp. 297-298 Miss Breckinridge mentions some of the great figures through whom came big improvements—W. Letchworth, Theo. Roosevelt the elder, M. Y. Josephine, Shaw Lonsell, Julia Latrop, Fredk. Wines.

THE next large question our author takes up is "Shall supervision give place to control?" (An English parallel would be the position of our Minister of Health, *vis-à-vis*, a Board of Guardians and of the officials of the Ministry of Labour in relation to "extended benefit.") The need for improvement at a more rapid rate is the occasion for preferring the latter. As an instance we are told that whereas formerly "less eligibility" was the governing principle, to-day it is "adequacy"; but to prevent adequacy of relief being an injustice to the great mass of taxpayers there must be "careful records, accurately kept, honestly and intelligently analysed and compared It is unnecessary to point out that such records are not available."

IN England, a departmental committee on the Registration of Charities has lately finished its labours. On p. 405 Miss Breckinridge tells us that the Massachusetts State Board of Charity "is required to visit and inspect annually each of the 800 private charitable corporations in active operation in that State." Similarly it has "a corps of visitors constantly . . . following up cases of relief in charge of the local overseers of the poor." On p. 428, &c., she deals with a question of vital importance in England to-day, that of the recruitment education and training of the officers of bodies concerned with any form of public assistance. She gives a reference to an article contributed to a journal in this country by Sir Stanley Leathes, K.C.B.

THE movement for the "merit" as opposed to the "spoils" system of civil service staffing has been hampered by "a juggling with the classification by the Civil Service Commission" (p. 485), i.e. the classification of a particular position as "competitive" or "exempt." (We pride ourselves on not having the "spoils" system in England. The present writer could give a list of recent appointments under local authorities filled on strictly "Tammany" lines.)

ON pp. 511 to 513 we have some comparison of the lunacy services of England, Scotland, and New York not to our advantage.

PART III., 1917 to present day, marked by "an increasingly wide acceptance of what might be called the "case method" of treatment, with an increasing interest in the formulation of professional methods and the development of a professional personnel" (p. 555). It is necessary "to attract into the public service persons of courage, professional attainment, and public spirit" (p. 560).

IN 1923 the State of Ohio was finding a one man director less effective than the previous "bi-partisan board." On p. 628 the county, the administrative unit below the State in America, comes in for severe stricture. "The almshouse, outdoor relief, and the jail remain in each case archaic survivals travesties on the poor, breeding places of dependency and crime."

THE Wisconsin State Board of Charities is quoted as having said some years back "In Philadelphia and Brooklyn the abuses of outdoor relief have led to the entire abolition with marked success. It may become a necessity in our larger cities to follow their example." (p. 644). "It is not an easy matter for a supervisor to refuse assistance when applied for by one of his own neighbours, and this is where the abuse creeps in." It might be Poplar!!

THE last section of the book, pp. 739-773, is devoted to the question of a "national program and proposals for a federal department of public welfare."

"Shade of Jefferson!" one is tempted to exclaim. America already has Federal Bureaux of Agriculture, Education, or Labor. Immense strides have also been made in the national organisation of voluntary social work.

Thus the American Association for Organising Family Social Work—a sort of super-C.O.S.—covers the whole of the U.S.A. and Canada. (p. 739.) Similarly with the National Conference of Social Work, which has met annually for half a century and is now attended by about 400 persons. The first duty of such a Federal Board would be "comparable statistics giving a comprehensive view of the situation." The book ends with a specific proposal for such a "ministry," as we should call it. "Wanted, then, a clearing house of charities and corrections for these United States, so long disunited in regard to these great interests."

J. C. PRINGLE.

FEMINISM: A STUDY OF THE WOMAN PROBLEM THROUGH
THE AGES: by Professor Weith-Knudsen. Constable & Co. Ltd.
(12s.)

O WOMAN in your hours of ease
You outrage the proprieties
Parading lip-stick, puff and knees
(As has been often said):
You give the Colonel in his Club
Indigestion after Grub,
You draw the mildest Parson's snub
Upon your pollard head.

I used to think this constant din
A trifle forced, a trifle thin:
I did not mind your drinking Gin,
(For I like Gin myself):
But Weith-Knudsen gave me light,
And now I know the Deans are right
—O how I bless the happy night
I took him from the shelf.

I might have gone through all my days
A foolish dreamer in a maze
And never guessed her little ways,
Her tricks, her lusts, her greeds:
For Woman is, he shows, a Fool,
A Devil, Demon, Vampire, Ghoul,
He indicates the ducking-stool
As being what she needs.

"Radex Malorum" runs the ban—
She interferes with Nature's plan,
She goes and Ogles Nordic Man
And melts him with a look;
—So weak is Man, so strong her guile,
To him the plainest woman's smile
Seems altogether more worth while
Than all this learned book.

GEOFFREY DAVIES.

INTERNATIONAL MORAL EDUCATION CONGRESS, 1926.

Summary of Papers and Discussions, compiled by Frederick J. Gould,
 "Armored," Woodford Avenue, Ealing, W.5.

THE fourth Congress, which met at Rome, discussed three main topics, the first being "The Possibility of a Universal Moral Code as a Basis for Education." Mr. Abdullah Yusuf Ali, in a learned contribution, took the negative view, basing his attitude toward the "futile quest" on the irreconcilable differences between the various codes or standards of different communities, and of individuals in the same community. Professor Orestano (Rome) agreed with this conclusion.

OTHER speakers, however, thought that such a code might be constructed, and some of them contributed maxims, school codes and the like. Mr. F. J. Gould expressed his belief that various norms of history and human nature can be symbolised as a code; and this view is probably a correct one; though a long period will be needed for its settlement, in view, on the one hand, of the obstacles pointed out by Yusuf Ali, and, on the other hand, of the time that will be needed for the diffusion of the necessary anthropological, sociological and world-historical ideas and knowledge—an indispensable preliminary to agreement on the matter in question, as on many other points of international co-operation.

WE may welcome Yusuf Ali's attempt to clear away old, restricted codes of morals, such as the Mosaic Decalogue, the Japanese Bushido, and the like; and the reminder that Mr. Gandhi tells Christian missionaries that he "prefers the teaching of the *Upamishads* and the *Baagavad-Gita*," may possibly give pause to those responsible for some of the matter appearing in a report presented to the Congress by the Italian Government. This report lays down the principle that "the basis and crown of the (elementary school) teaching shall be the Christian doctrine in the form received by Catholic tradition." This pronouncement will form curious reading for the non-Christian communities represented at the Congress; it will be regarded with amused contempt by many in predominantly Christian lands; and it points to one of the greatest obstacles to the present movement towards human solidarity.

A BRIEF discussion of "The Presentation of History to Youth" is included. This followed the resolution, passed in 1922, to circulate proposals for the moral reform of history teaching in a spirit of international inquiry and sympathy." The idea that world-history, or the history of mankind, should form the general basis of the teaching was apparent, though in the case of younger children the more personal and "heroic" element was emphasised; and attention was drawn to the League of Nations Committee of Intellectual Co-operation at Geneva, and to the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation at Paris (Palais Royal).

"PERSONALITY: its Development in the Family, School and Society," formed a third section. Here there was an unfortunate tendency towards loose, metaphysical, and even sectarian-theological, treatment of the point at issue—a rather common feature of some of our current educational literature. After hearing, with some amazement, Dr. Cloudesley Brereton's wholly irrelevant contention that "the dual aim of education was stated by the Christ as consisting in the Duty to God, and Duty to one's neighbour," it is refreshing to read the contribution of Mr. John Laird, who said, "I am inclined to suppose that the conception of personality is very doubtfully

capable of bearing the strain that some are inclined to put upon it. I think we consider these questions more simply and truly when, instead of attempting to apply some theory of personality, we ask, quite simply: How, being persons, we may hope to become better ones." Though this view smacks more of common sense than of philosophy, it is probably much more useful than the fanciful, mystical, talk about personality—as though this were something other than a phase of character, which is, of course, a congeries of inherited biological and psychological (including ethical or quasi-ethical) qualities with which we are born (nature), and which may be indefinitely developed by ordinary methods of teaching and training, at home, at school and in society (nurture).

J. REEVES.

HUMANITY AND LABOUR IN CHINA: by Adelaide Mary Anderson, D.B., M.A. Student Christian Movement. 1928. (10s. 6d. nett.)

THIS book is, in part, a picturesque and highly interesting account of Dame Adelaide Anderson's travels in China; in part, it is a discussion of the question of the regulation of industrial conditions, especially child labour, for which, as every one knows, Dame Adelaide has unusual and distinguished qualifications. From the reader's point of view it might have been an advantage to separate these subjects and treat them in different chapters, as the mingling of the two produces a somewhat confusing effect. Even so, however, there is a great deal of valuable information to be obtained from the book. Machinery and the factory system are making their way into China, especially in the Shanghai settlement, and inevitably, as in other countries, tragic difficulties, associated with what is called the "industrial revolution," occur. In China, such difficulties are intensified by the vastness and poverty of the population, the lack of effective central government, and the disturbances and civil war of the last few years. Dame Adelaide believes that the development of modern industrial methods, if these can be humanised by the restriction (and, ultimately, the abolition) of child labour and the introduction of proper regulations for health and safety, will spell advancement and emancipation for the industrial workers. Of the further question, whether the supremely beautiful artistic handicrafts of China can survive the mechanisation of industry, she says little. The most interesting parts of the book are those which reveal the existence of much activity and initiative for social betterment among the Chinese people themselves, especially the women. Among such may be mentioned the successful institution, some years ago, of a women's bank, educational efforts, work for war refugees, and so on. We must all hope that China, artistically so eminent, and with the social experience of long ages behind her, may be destined to achieve some new type of industrial organisation other and better than that with which the Western World is familiar, but it is evident that at present the difficulty of making, even elementary, reforms is serious.

B.L.H.

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ASIATIC REVIEW: April.
BULLETIN DE LA STATISTIQUE GÉNÉRALE DE LA FRANCE: January-March, April-June.
CHINESE ECONOMIC JOURNAL: October to May.
ECONOMICA: March.
ECONOMIC JOURNAL: March, June.
EUGENICS REVIEW: January, April.
GARDEN CITIES AND TOWN PLANNING: January to June.
HINDUSTAN REVIEW: January, April.
INTERNATIONAL CONCILIATION: January to June.
INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS: November to February, March to May (New Issue).
JOURNAL OF HEREDITY: November to June.
JOURNAL OF NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL PSYCHOLOGY: January, April.
JOURNAL OF LONDON SOCIETY: February to July.
JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY: January, April.
KÖLNER VIERTELJAHRSHAFTE FÜR SOZIALWISSENSCHAFTEN: 7th Year: Heft 2.
MAN: February to July.
MONIST: January, April, July.
MUSÉE SOCIAL: January to June.
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW: January to June.
OKONOMI OG POLITIK: January, April.
OPEN COURT: January to June.
POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY: March, June.
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QUEST: January, April, July.
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